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Summer 2008
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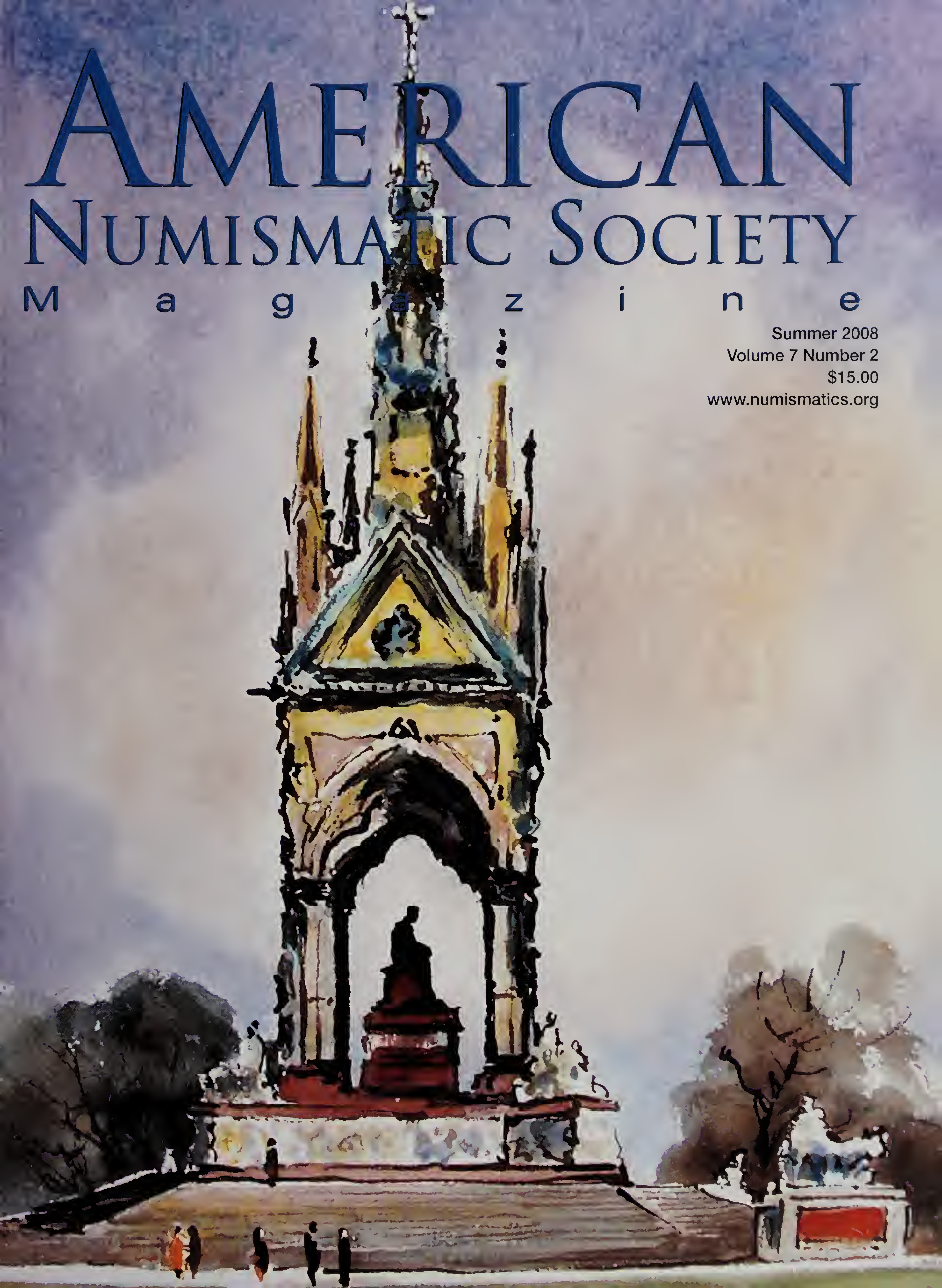

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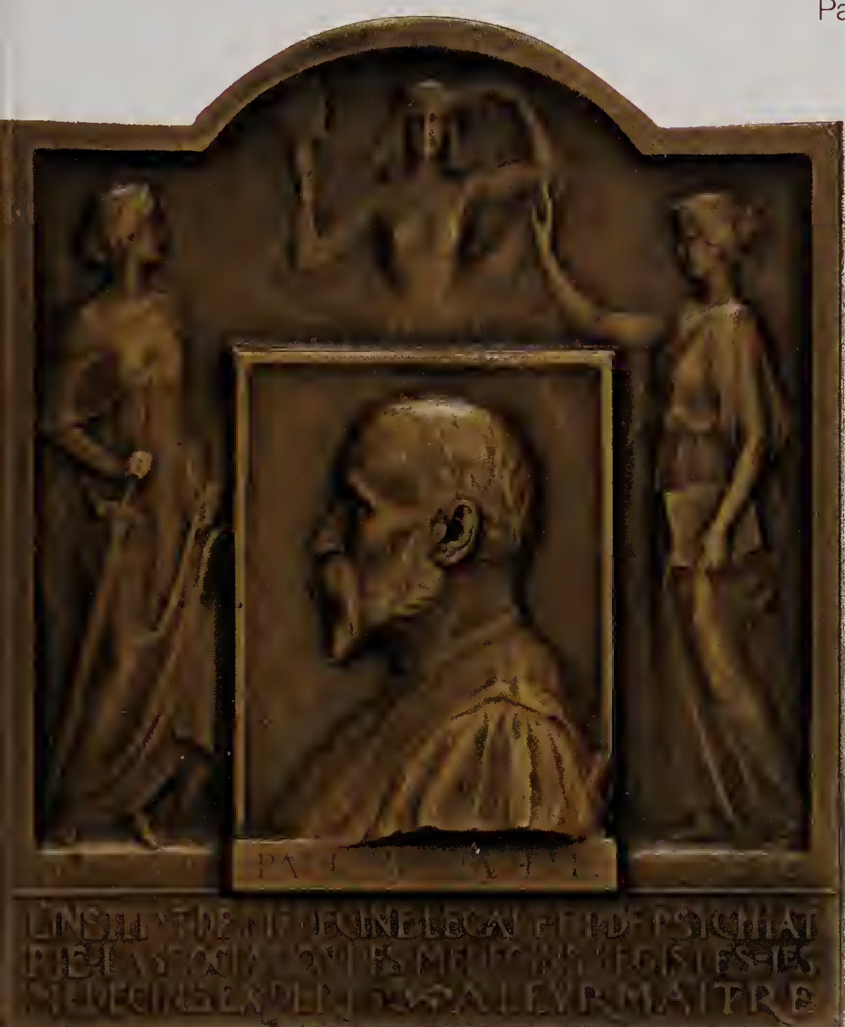

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ON THE COVER

The Albert Memorial, Kensington Gardens, London.
Watercolor by Peter Henry Goetz.

From the Executive Director

American Numismatic Society Magazine

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Dear Members and Friends,

Once again we are living in the midst of packed boxes. Files have been sorted and archived. The entire ANS Library is stored for transport, and the coins are being packed as I write. Few if any of us thought that the ANS would be moving again, so soon after having settled in downtown Manhattan. But here we go, and while at the moment it's a little inconvenient, in the long term, this is undoubtedly a positive development.

Our new facility is almost ready. Thanks to our first-rate project managers and dedicated staff, everything is on schedule, and by the time you receive this issue, we will have left 140 William Street. ANS members who do not live in New York or even in the United States may wonder why this move to another location within Manhattan matters to them. It does, and here is why.

Over a year ago, the ANS Board of Trustees, under the leadership of Roger Siboni, made the controversial decision to put the building up for sale and lease a smaller space. Some members found this hard to understand. Twelve months later, the wisdom of this decision is absolutely clear. The fortuitous sale of 140 William Street at the height of the real-estate market boom has provided our endowment with a massive injection of funds. The result has been that, despite a weak financial market over the last few months, we have been able to maintain all our staff, programs, and membership services. This would have been hard to do without the money we received from the sale of the building.

Going forward, the new headquarters at One Hudson Square will provide more space for our events, exhibitions, collections, and visitors, all at a lower cost than 140 William Street did. For the first time since the 1970s, the ANS will have a balanced budget. The improved financial status of the Society will allow us to enhance our publication programs, both online and in more traditional formats. Moreover, from the stable base of our new headquarters, we can also focus on events beyond New York. Several members living outside the New York area have already offered their assistance in arranging for local ANS events. Our first major event outside New York will be hosted in New Orleans, by Trustee Kenneth Harl, in April of next year, and it will be a weekend conference on archaic and classical coinage in which staff and Trustees will participate. We hope in the future to have other events around the country or abroad, and I look forward to suggestions from our members.

We hope to welcome many of our members to our new headquarters. And for those unable to visit in person, we have begun to renovate our other home, the ANS Web site, which will be relaunched in October with a new design and many more membership services. We hope that you will enjoy both of our new homes!

With best wishes,
Ute Wartenberg Kagan
Executive Director, ANS

Andrew Meadows Appointed Deputy Director of ANS

Andrew Meadows

Andrew Meadows, who joined the ANS last year as Margaret Thompson Curator of Greek Coins, has been promoted to Deputy Director, a position newly created by the Trustees, who decided to distribute the administrative duties of the Executive Director, Dr. Ute Wartenberg Kagan. Mr. Meadows will oversee all operations of the ANS, including finances, budgeting, security, library, and publications, while Dr. Wartenberg Kagan will focus on exhibitions, programs, curatorial outreach, and development. With the move to the new location, the ANS is reviving its program of events. A regular schedule of exhibitions, lectures, conferences, and publications will be in place, including regular events outside New York City. "I am delighted that the Trustees agreed to this new position, which will allow me to focus on ANS programs, which are at the heart of the organization. Andy Meadows is a terrific scholar and administrator," Dr. Wartenberg Kagan said. Meadows worked for twelve years as curator of Greek coins at the British Museum, during which time he also worked for the director's office as museum-wide coordinator of curatorial research.

Huntington Award Given to Two Ancient-World Scholars

Andrew Burnett

The ANS has announced two winners of the prestigious Archer M. Huntington Medal in recognition of outstanding career contributions to numismatic scholarship. After the move of the ANS to its new headquarters this summer, Dr. Andrew Burnett,

deputy director of the British Museum, will be awarded the 2006 award; Dr. François de Callataÿ will be the recipient of the 2007 award. Invitations for the two fall ceremonies will be sent to all members.

Dr. Burnett has long been recognized as one of the leading scholars in the field of Roman numismatics. With Michel Amandry, he published the first two volumes of *Roman Provincial Coinage*, a comprehensive catalogue of coins of the Roman provinces from the first to the fourth centuries AD. The coins from this period are from a wide variety of cities throughout the Roman Empire, which were traditionally neglected by numismatists. *Roman Provincial Coinage*, of which four volumes have now appeared, has opened up this field to historians and numismatists. Other research areas to which he has made significant contributions are the coinages of the Roman Republic and western Greece and the history of numismatics. Dr. Burnett joined the British Museum in 1974 as a research assistant and has had a remarkable career combining academic research with museum administration, leading to his appointment in 2002 as the museum's deputy director.

Dr. de Callataÿ is one of the most distinguished numismatists of his generation. He is currently the head of special collections (including coins and medals) at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Brussels, Belgium, while also serving as Directeur d'études at the École pratique des Hautes Études in Paris. As author of over a hundred articles and a dozen books, his interests vary widely, ranging from the Hellenistic period of the ancient world to the late nineteenth-century medallic art of France and Belgium. Much beloved by his numismatic colleagues, he is a popular speaker at conferences around the world, and his ability to combine numismatic detail with economic history is widely admired. In 2007, he won the Franqui Prize, an award of 150,000 euros given to a scholar under the age of fifty. He is one of the few historians to have received this prestigious award, which is known as Belgium's Nobel Prize.


François de Callataÿ

The Huntington Committee's Chairman, Professor Jere L. Bacharach, commented on the selection of these two outstanding scholars: "In the field of ancient numismatics, there is an embarrassment of riches. So many scholars deserve to be recognized. Both Dr. Burnett and Dr. de Callataÿ are exceptional scholars in the field of ancient history. The ANS is honored to add them to our distinguished list of numismatists."

Sanford Saltus Award to Be Given to British Medalist Ron Dutton

The British artist and medalist Ron Dutton will receive in the spring of 2009 the Sanford Saltus Award for distinguished achievement in the field of the art of the medal. Ron Dutton began to make medals in the mid-1970s, at a time when few artists in the United Kingdom appreciated the possibilities that the medal had to offer as a medium. His early medals focused particularly on the English landscape and the animal world, both of which he treated with vision and wit. Since then his explorations into diverse areas have led to a constant renewal of his work, with the regular appearance of new themes, ideas, and techniques. His numerous commissions have been responsible for engaging a wide variety of organizations and individuals in the art of the medal, and his teaching has introduced the subject to students of all ages. With Mark Jones, he was instrumental in founding the British Art Medal Society in 1982, and he has been a driving force within the society for the last twenty-six years, serving as secretary for many years and then as president. He has contributed to FIDEM as UK vice delegate, delegate, and member of the executive committee, and he has been a valued contributor to medal symposia in numerous countries. He has been a leading member of the international medallic community for many years, and he is highly respected for the range and quality of his medals and for his infectious enthusiasm for medallic art.

Ron Dutton,"The Choice is Ours" (2004) 64mm.

Opening Exhibition in New ANS Gallery

As its opening exhibition in its new gallery at 1 Hudson Square, the ANS will be hosting an exhibition in celebration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the New York Numismatic Club. Over two dozen members of the club will display their most interesting items from such diverse areas as the ancient Greek world, Renaissance medals, and American colonial coins. The exhibition will run from mid-October 2008 to early 2009. A small catalogue of the objects will accompany the display. The gallery will be open to the public weekdays from 10 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. and on selected Saturdays and mid-week evenings.

Contributions: January 24, 2008, through April 25, 2008

Grand Total: $375,647.50

GENERAL FUND:
$113,952.06

Gala 07 Sponsorships
$3,150

Gala 08 General Contributions
$12,234

Gala 08 Live Auction
$36,000

Gala 08 Silent Auction
$1,175

Gala 08 Sponsorships
$53,500

Gala 08 Program
$2,400

Gala Dinner Roster
$100

End of Year Appeal 2007: General Contributions
$420

General Contributions
$4,973.06

RESTRICTED FUNDS:
$261,695.44

Francis D. Campbell Library Chair
$350

End of Year Appeal 2007: Francis D. Campbell Library Chair
$645.44

Islamic Curator Fund
$100

End of Year Appeal 2007: Islamic Curator Fund
$500

Hudson Square Building Fund
$250,000

Newell Publication Fund
$10,100

Contributors: January 24, 2008, through April 25, 2008

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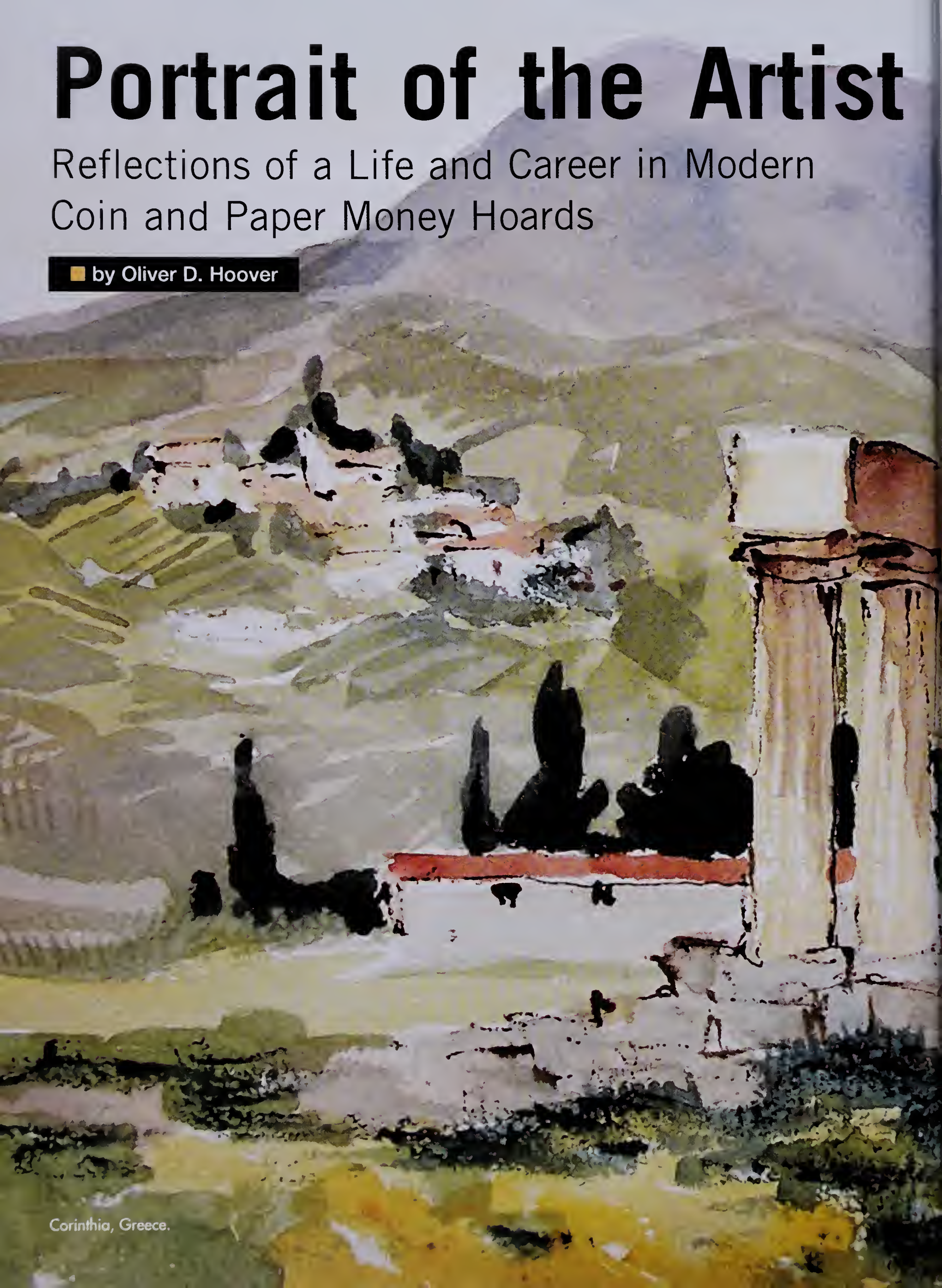
Portrait of the Artist

Reflections of a Life and Career in Modern Coin and Paper Money Hoards

by Oliver D. Hoover



Corinthia, Greece.

Kilchurn, Scotland.

Introduction

Among those who closely study coin hoards, the impetus for deposit is often sought in political and economic crises. The Roman hoards of the third century AD and the English hoards of the Civil War period (Fig. 1) are associated with military reversals at the hands of barbarians and Parliament, respectively. Likewise, the deposits of Confederation coppers in the United States are linked to the Coppers Panic of 1789, which destroyed their value (Fig. 2). There can be no question that real political, military, and economic disasters such as these are often the prime forces behind hoarding. Still, it is worth remembering that hoarding behavior can be motivated by much less serious threats and may be heavily informed by the psychology of the hoarder. Unfortunately, information on the personal motives of individual hoarders is almost invariably lost to students of the hoarding phenomenon, as hoards are most frequently discovered well after the death of the depositor(s) and any friends or relatives who might elucidate the reasons that a particular hoard was hidden away by a particular individual. Thus it seems useful to present the several hoards of modern Canadian and foreign coins and paper money left behind by the accomplished Canadian watercolorist Peter Henry Goetz (1917–2007) as a means of illustrating the very personal dimension of hoarding, since documentary and reliable

Fig. 1. England. Charles I. Silver broad, 1631. (ANS 1977.207.25) 39 mm.

Fig. 2. United States. Connecticut copper, 1787 (ANS 1931.58.489) 28 mm.

Below the dam at New Dundee, Ontario.

Burmese temples.

anecdotal evidence still survives to support the interpretation of these hoards.

On August 28, 2007, Peter Goetz died in hospital in Kitchener, Ontario. He first discovered his talent for painting in his twenties, and after studying under F. H. Varley (an original member of Canada's illustrious Group of Seven impressionist painters), he was elected to the Canadian Society of Watercolorists. In 1966, he joyfully quit his accounting job at B. F. Goodrich to pursue a full-time artistic career. He was especially well known locally for his genre scenes depicting the daily life of the nearby Mennonite (Old Order) community and the beauty of the Canadian winter. However, he also made a name for himself in international art circles by painting landscapes and architectural subjects that he visited on numerous trips abroad. His works have been shown in the National Gallery of Canada, the Galleria International (New York), the Rotunda Gallery (London), La Scala Gallery (Florence), and the Tokyo National Gallery. His work can be found in the collections of Queen Elizabeth II, the London Regional Art Gallery, and other public and private collections.

The Canadian Paper Money Hoards

During the review of the Goetz estate, it was discovered that numerous envelopes filled with Canadian paper money had been secreted throughout the house. The earliest envelope contained six disintegrating Canadian $20 notes of King George VI issued in 1937 and was found taped to the inside of a small desk believed to have been constructed by the artist in a high-school shop class. The money probably came from Goetz's job as a golf caddy and was taped to the desk as a means of hiding it from his parents, Henry (Heinrich) and Justina. As recent Mennonite (New Order) refugees from the Soviet Union who had arrived in Canada in 1929 and who continued to support others fleeing the Stalinist regime, Henry and Justina required any money earned by their son to go into the family coffers. While this hidden money clearly escaped the notice of his parents, it would seem that in time even Goetz forgot that it had been tucked away.

A second phase of paper hoarding took place in the period from 1956 to 1959, when about $800 in folded Canadian $5, $10, and $20 notes of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth II were put away in envelopes, along with dated correspondence. Judging from the dates, it is probable that this money represents part of a larger savings hoard that was assembled by Peter Goetz with a view toward purchasing his own home. In 1960, he is known to have paid cash (about $15,000) for the house where he lived out the rest of his life. Previously he, along with his wife Helena and two children, Jean and Peter Jr., had lived

The Kremlin, Moscow.

Eltz Castle, Germany.

in the Waterloo, Ontario, home of his parents. This paper hoarding is mirrored in the separate accumulation of Canadian silver dollars and 50-cent pieces, which also drops off in 1960 and may have been amassed in part as savings for the house (see below).

A final paper hoard, consisting of $5,000 in Canadian $20 notes of Queen Elizabeth II (1979 and 1991 issues) was found in an envelope locked inside a cedar chest where the artist kept his important papers. Anecdotal evidence provided by his son suggests that the money was hidden there in the early 1990s. However, unlike the earlier paper hoards, which can be partially explained in terms of emergency and savings hoarding, the reasons for this late accumulation of money are somewhat more obscure. It is possible that this phase of hoarding was inspired by the recession that gripped Canada from 1987 to 1995, but if this were the sole reason it is a little surprising that no remnants of a hoard relating to the recession of 1970 were found in the estate. It is tempting to think that the severity and length of the 1990s recession may have rekindled old fears of a return to the economic privation that Peter had known in his youth. Since he would have been in his early seventies at the time that the money was hoarded, these fears may have been heightened by the paranoia associated with dementia, the disease that ended his life in 2007.

The economic fears that probably drove Peter Goetz to hoard substantial paper money in the 1990s and are likely to have influenced his earlier tendency to hoard at home rather than in banks are entirely understandable in light of his family's history. In 1929, at the age of twelve, Peter escaped from Russia with his parents on the *S.S. Montcalm*, the last ship to take refugees to Canada before the iron curtain fell permanently. The decision of the Goetz family to flee in that year was predicated by Stalin's collectivization of Soviet agriculture in 1928. As a member of the Siberian *kulak* class of wealthy independent farmers, Peter's father, Henry Goetz, owned land and a dairy and was therefore counted among the so-called class enemies of the poor Russian peasants. In the interests of personal safety and the desire to retain some of the family's wealth, flight was the only option. In order to leave the country, Henry was forced to sell off virtually all of the Goetz possessions and property at artificially low prices dictated by the state. The proceeds of this sale were almost entirely used up on the cost of the passage to Canada and

Notre Dame, France.

Rome, Italy.

the repeated bribery of officials in Moscow. Already some time before, during the Russian Civil War (1918–1921), the family had been forced to dip into its savings in order to secure the life of Henry. While serving as an ambulance driver for the White Army (his Mennonite pacifist beliefs prevented him from actually fighting), he was captured by the Red Army, whose officers would have shot him along with his associates, if not for a substantial bribe paid by Justina.

Thus when the family finally did get out of the country it had very little money with which to start a new life in Canada. A silver 20-kopek of Tsar Nicholas II dated 1909 (Fig. 3) and found among the other coins in the safety deposit box may possibly survive from what little money the Goetz family was able to carry out of the Soviet Union. There is little reason to think that the coin was acquired during Peter's return to the Soviet Union as a tourist in 1963, as the only other coins brought back from this trip were eight aluminum kopeks and multiples (10, 15, and 20) dated 1961 and 1962 (Fig. 4), and these were stored together in a separate bag (see the discussion of the "tourist" hoard below).

Fig. 3. Russia. Tsar Nicholas II. Silver 20-kopek, 1909. (ex Goetz hoard).

Fig. 4. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Aluminum 20-kopek, 1961. (ex Goetz hoard).

The heavy cost of the escape was somewhat brightened by one notable kindness during the Atlantic passage to Canada. During the trip, Justina give birth to Peter's brother Siegfried, and as a celebratory gift, the ship's captain gave Henry a $10 gold coin. Unfortunately, this piece was not recovered from the Goetz estate. Presumably it was a Canadian George V issue of 1912–1914 (Fig. 5), since this was the only period in which Canada struck circulating gold coinage. This coin may have been passed on to Siegfried at the death of his father in 1970, but most likely the family spent it during their early years in Canada. It would have been difficult to arrive in a foreign country to begin a new life virtually

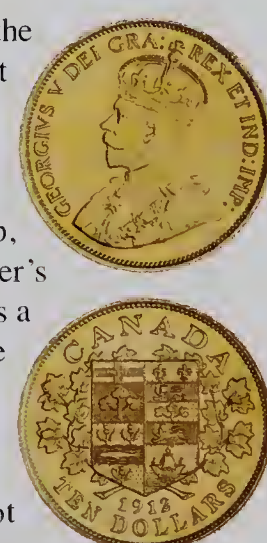


Fig. 5. Canada. George V. Gold $10, 1912. (ANS 1913.104.1).

Obidos, Portugal.

penniless at the best of times, but Peter Goetz, along with his parents and new brother, had the extreme misfortune of landing in Canada just as the Great Depression was beginning.

Essentially, for his entire teenage life, Peter suffered from want in some form as a result of political and economic crises over which he had no control. It is therefore not entirely surprising that he should have taken to hoarding money in later years as a form of defense against ever having to suffer such privations again. The fear of returning to the days of financial hardship implicit in the paper money hoards was probably further exacerbated by the artist's general distrust of banks, many of which had had their assets seized during the Civil War in Russia or had collapsed during the Dirty Thirties in Canada.

The Savings and "Speculation" Coin Hoards

In addition to the hoards of paper money found in the house, a large group of Canadian and foreign coins was found in a wooden chest belonging to Peter Goetz. The material contained therein gives the impression of having been hoarded as a form of wealth, rather than collected for the purpose of enjoying the coins as objects. There is no real pattern to the accumulation of Canadian coins (for the foreign coins, see below), although the artist's preference was clearly for the precious metal and commemorative

Fig. 6. Canada. George V. Silver dollar, 1935. (ex Goetz hoard).

pieces.

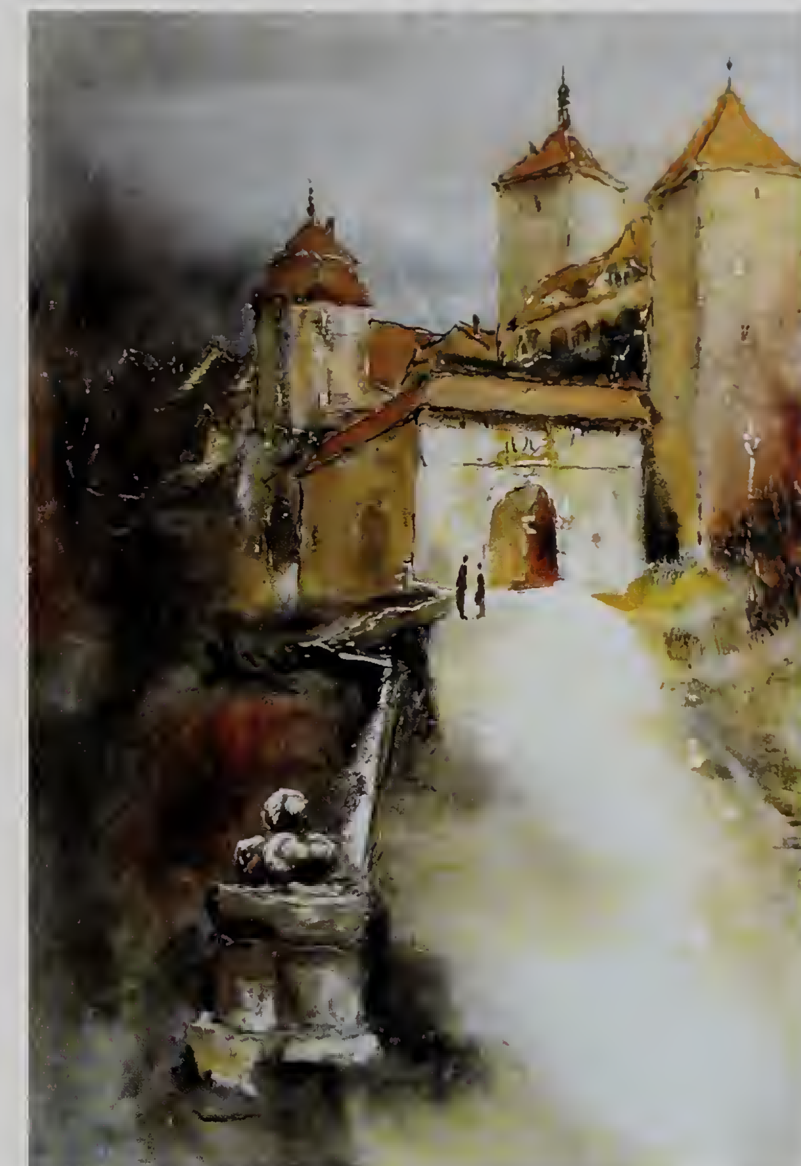
Judging from the different patinas, there seems to have been at least four distinct phases of silver hoarding. All but one of the nine Canadian silver dollars dated 1935 (Fig. 6) to 1949 exhibit a very attractive dark grey toning (except for one 1939 piece), which may indicate that they were originally hoarded together in a wooden container (the desk in which the 1937 paper money was found?) for some time before they were removed to the safety deposit box. The sixty-two 50-cent pieces with unbroken dates of 1939 to 1953 (Fig. 7), however, do not exhibit such toning, but only show signs of verdigris in the recesses of the designs, indicating that originally they had been kept separately from the dollars. On the other hand, none of the pre-1967 dollars (1953 [2], 1954 [1], 1955 [8], 1957 [1],

Fountain at San Miguel, California.

Fig. 7. Canada. George VI. Silver 50-cents, 1953. (ex Goetz hoard).

1959 [2], 1960 [1]) and 50-cent pieces (1957 [1] and 1959 [1]) show a thin dull grey toning through which some of the coins' original luster is still visible. All of the commemorative silver pieces of 1967 (50-cents, 25-cents, 10-cents) exhibit the same type of spotty iridescent toning, which shows that they too were hoarded separately, probably in an envelope of nonarchival paper.

Looking at the dates, it is clear that the major period of hoarding took place over roughly twenty-five years from the mid-1930s to 1960, with the bulk apparently put away during the Second World War (1939–1945). The spike in the war years is not surprising, since this was a period of global uncertainty and a time of economic hardship. As a Mennonite, Goetz had conscientious-objector status during the war and was sent to British Columbia, where he worked for the Canadian Forestry Service until the end of the conflict. His time in the



Rothernberg Gate, Germany.

Canadian west during the war may possibly account for the unexpectedly large number (five) of 1955 silver dollars in the hoard (Fig. 8). This issue was struck to celebrate the centennial of British Columbia's establishment as a crown colony. The closure date of 1960 for this phase of hoarding may be significant because, as we have already seen, this was the year that Peter Goetz bought his home for cash. Perhaps the hoarding that already began in his teens continued as a means of saving for the day that he and his family would be able to move out of his parents' house.

After 1960, no regular hoarding of Canadian coinage seems to have gone on, with the exception of an accumu-

Fig. 8. Canada. Elizabeth II. Silver dollar, 1955. (ex Goetz hoard).

The church at Paline, Guatemala.

Fig. 9. Canada. Elizabeth II. Silver 50 cents, 1967. (ex Goetz hoard).

lation of 1967 issues in all denominations (50-cents [19], 25-cents [12], 10-cents [6], 5-cents [8], and cents [5]) struck to commemorate the centennial of the Canadian Confederation. Most Canadians who are old enough to remember the 1967 celebrations have some of these coins in their keepsake boxes (Fig. 9). A U.S. half-dollar of the same date was also mixed in with these commemoratives, but its significance (if there is any) is unclear. Very few additional Canadian coins were hoarded after 1967, no doubt in part because silver was replaced by nickel for Canadian circulating coins in the following year. The relatively large numbers of centennial commemoratives tends to suggest that they were accumulated as a "speculation" hoard in the hope that they would increase in value and become collector's items. To this group, Peter later added several other Canadian commemorative pieces, probably with the same (vain) hope of future financial gain. These include

West Gate, Canterbury.

Fig. 10. Canada. Elizabeth II. Cupro-nickel 25-cents, 2004. (ex Goetz hoard).

two 1982 and three 1984 dollars issued to celebrate the return of the constitution to Canada and the 450th anniversary of Jacques Cartier's landing at Gaspe, Québec, respectively; two 25-cents of 1973 produced for the centennial of the Northwest Mounted Police; and a 2004 25-cents Remembrance Day commemorative. The 2004 piece is notable as the first regular circulating coin issued with a colorized design (Fig. 10). Also included in this group are two wooden nickels produced in 1957 to celebrate the centennial of Waterloo, Ontario (Fig. 11), and a 1-troy-ounce silver ingot of Johnson Matthey Assayers and Refiners.

Fig. 11. Canada. Wooden nickel, 1957. (ex Goetz hoard).

That these coins and possibly some of the pre-1967 issues (i.e., five British Columbia commemorative dollars of 1955 and two steel 5-cents of 1945)

The Kremlin, Rostov.

were accumulated on the speculation of increased value in the future is shown by the presence in the safety deposit box of a twenty-eight-page booklet entitled *Check Your Coins* produced by the Toronto-Dominion Bank (Fig. 12). This booklet describes Canadian coins valued by collectors that could still be found in circulation at the time of publication. Although no publication date is given, *Check Your Coins* cannot have appeared before 1955, the year in which the amalgamated Toronto and Dominion Banks reopened for business as the Toronto-Dominion Bank. It may not have been issued much later than this year, as there is no reference to Queen Elizabeth II (1953–present) or to the Arnprior silver dollar variety of 1955.

Two foreign commemorative coins in the safety deposit box were probably also hoarded in the hope of financial

Fig. 13. Vatican City. Pope John XXIII. Cupro-nickel 100-lira, 1962 (ex Goetz hoard).

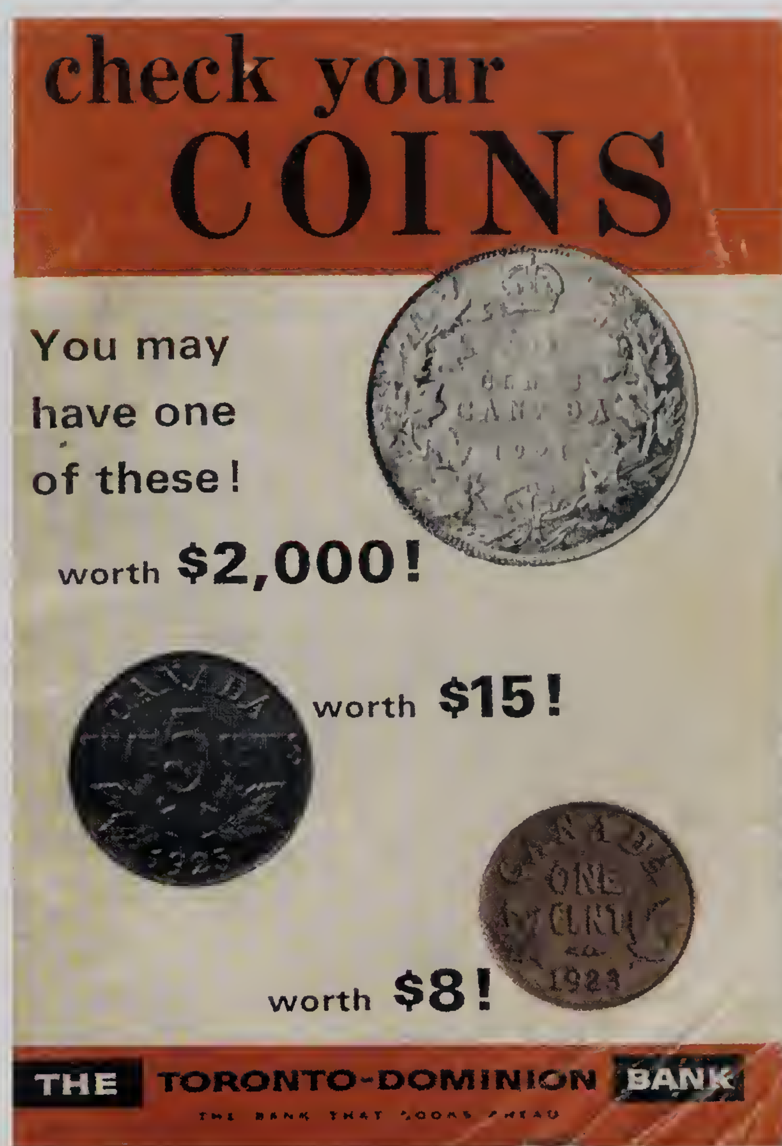


Fig. 12. *Check Your Coins* booklet (ex Goetz hoard).

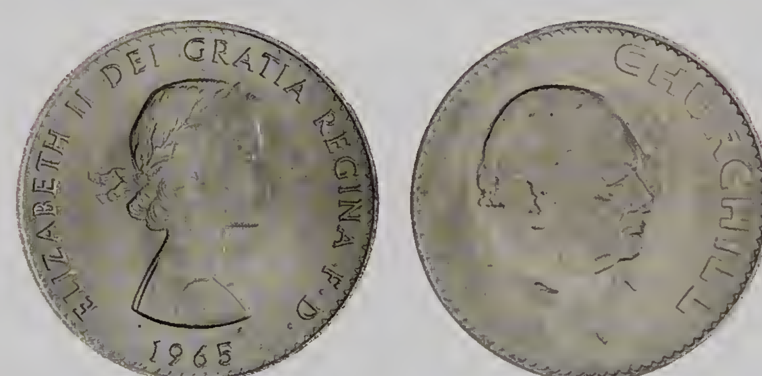


Fig. 14. Great Britain. Elizabeth II. Cupro-nickel crown, 1965 (ex Goetz hoard).

gain: a 1962 Vatican City 100-lira of Pope John XXIII struck to celebrate the Second Vatican Council, which was convened in that year, and a 1965 British crown of Queen Elizabeth II issued to commemorate the death of Sir Winston Churchill (Figs. 13–14).

The "Tourist" Hoard(s)

While the savings and "speculation" hoards discussed above shed light on the personal life and to some degree even the psychology of Peter Goetz, a third class of hoard found in the safety deposit box elucidates his professional life as a painter of subjects in the United Kingdom and

Europe as well as the Middle and Far East. His usual method of working was to take numerous slide photographs of interesting scenery, architecture, and people while traveling abroad. Upon his return, the scenes projected onto a door served as the models for his paintings. However, in addition to many rolls of undeveloped film that came back to Canada with him from his numerous trips, like most world travelers, Goetz also came home with some small change from the countries he visited. Since Canadian banks and exchange offices do not usually convert foreign coin, he retained these relics of his travels in small boxes, and sealed paper envelopes (often hotel stationery marked with the name of the country of origin) and ultimately placed them in his wooden chest, where they were later discovered.

This type of accumulation of foreign coins, which many well-traveled readers probably have in some form, we might call a "tourist" hoard, because the contents were taken out of circulation abroad and the material shows no sign of having been amassed with a view toward collecting. In the case of the Goetz coins, there is little sign that particular types or denominations were consciously collected and even less suggestion that the coins brought pleasure to their owner as objects (many were sealed in paper envelopes), as one would expect if they had been purposely collected.

These accumulations of foreign coins are interesting because they provide a snapshot of the circulating coinage (and in some cases paper money) at the time of various trips, some of which were excursions of only a few days out of much larger tours of several countries. Thus, for example, the Greek coins in the hoard represent precisely the money that was circulating in that country (primarily in Athens) between April 8 and 11, 1963, when Goetz made a quick tour of the major sites (Fig. 15). Likewise, the coins of Nepal are the very pieces that were circulating in Katmandu between April 9 and 14, 1976, when he passed through the country as part of a multicountry oriental tour (Fig. 16).

Fig. 15. Greece. Constantine II. Cupro-nickel 10-drachmai (ex Goetz hoard).

Fig. 16. Nepal. Birenda Bir Bikram. Aliminum 10-paisa, 1971 (ex Goetz hoard).

The foreign coins are also useful for establishing the chronology of various Goetz works. Early in his artistic career, the artist came to the conclusion that dates marked on his paintings were an impediment to sales. Because collectors of his work who attended his annual shows preferred the most current pieces to those of earlier years, he finally ceased to date his paintings entirely. For those without access to the artist's voided passports and the travel diaries kept by Helena Goetz until her death in 1985, it is now very difficult to securely date many later Goetz paintings. The survival of the "tourist" hoard(s) makes it possible to roughly date the paintings by their subject matter. For example, the latest Chinese coin in the hoard, an aluminum 2-fen of 1982, suggests that Goetz's visit to the People's Republic of China took place in or soon after that year (he actually visited in April 1982), and therefore the undated paintings in his well-received Chinese series must have been produced in 1982 or later (Fig. 17). Likewise, the coins of Guatemala in the hoard end with a 1-centavo of 1973, providing a terminus ante quem for the Guatemalan painting series (Fig. 18). The artist actually visited from January 1 to 31, 1974. However, differing rates of mint production can result in dating parameters much less precise than those in the preceding examples. The 5- and 10-pyas (Fig. 19) of Burma (present Myanmar) in the hoard are all dated CS 1328 (AD 1966), indicating that Goetz must have visited the country sometime during or after that year, and therefore undated paintings with Burmese subjects must have been produced in or after 1966. He actually visited the country from March 31 to April 6, 1976, but the Burmese mint did not produce any new emissions of denominations below 50-pyas until the 1980s.

Fig. 17. People's Republic of China. Aluminum 10-fen, 1982 (ex Goetz hoard).

Fig. 18. Guatemala. Cupro-nickel 25-centavos, 1971 (ex Goetz hoard).

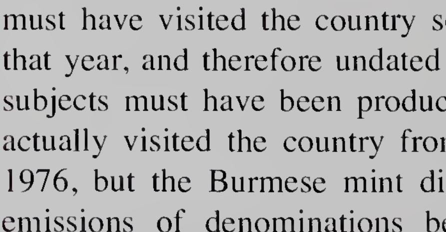


Fig. 19. Burma. Aluminum 10-pyas, 1966 (ex Goetz hoard).

Conversely, the large accumulations of British and West German coins cannot help much to isolate the periods in which subjects from these countries were painted. As English and German castles were popular subjects for Goetz, he made numerous trips to photograph them from the mid-1960s to the early 1990s. The travel diaries and some expertise in the development of the artist's style

Kweilin, China.

Fig. 20. Federal Republic of Germany. Bronze 2-pfennig. (ex Goetz hoard).

would be required to isolate the periods in which particular German or British subjects were probably painted (Figs. 20–21). There is also some problem for dating subjects in countries that may have been visited on a somewhat less frequent basis. The Greek coins in the "tourist" hoard end with a 1-drachma of 1962, but the paper money ends with four 100-drachmai notes of 1978 (Fig. 22). The former must have been accumulated on a visit known to have taken place in 1963, while the latter was brought back from a tour in 1978. Thus, from the hoard material alone there is no way to be sure whether undated paintings of ancient Greek monuments relate to travel in 1963 or 1978 or to another visit in 1972 that has left no evidence in the hoard.

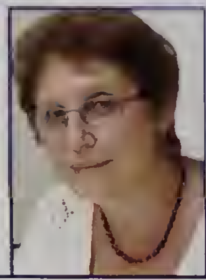
Fig. 21. Great Britain. Elizabeth II. Cupro-nickel 2-pence. (ex Goetz hoard).

Conclusion

This review of the several hoards left behind by Peter Goetz should serve as a reminder to students of hoards in any period that the motivations for hoarding behavior—

Fig. 22. Greece. Paper 100-drachmai note, 1978.

even in periods of economic crisis—can be intensely personal and virtually impossible to reconstruct without some knowledge of the individual hoarder. The "tourist" hoard is also somewhat notable for its usefulness for dating some of the paintings. While it is relatively common in the field of ancient archaeology for coins to provide chronological criteria for other material evidence, the recourse to numismatic evidence for dating is rarely necessary for objects from the second half of the twentieth century. Finally, the Goetz hoards and what they reveal may give pause to many readers who have their own seemingly innocent piles of change in jars and drawers around the house. What stories might be teased out of them once their owners have gone? ANSM



The Guido Kisch Collection in the American Numismatic Society

In October 2007, the ANS Collections Committee received a letter from Dr. Alexander Kisch, proposing to sell to the Society on favorable terms the medallic collection of his late father, Holocaust survivor Dr. Guido Kisch (1889–1985). The senior Kisch had been a prominent professor of jurisprudence and the history of law at the universities of Königsberg, Prague, and Halle. He continued his academic career in New York during and after World War II before returning to Basel, where he held an honorary professorship and published extensively in the fields of humanism and jurisprudence. Due to a longstanding interest in numismatics, over a period of more than half a century he formed a unique personal collection of medals, plaquettes, and tokens focusing on law and the legal professions. Many aspects of his collection were discussed and illustrated in his monograph *Recht und Gerechtigkeit in der Medallienkunst* (Heidelberg, 1955).

Through the fortuitous acquisition of this splendid European collection, the ANS has been able to add many prized new specimens to its cabinet. Altogether, including duplicate items, there were well over one thousand objects in the Kisch acquisition. As we begin to catalog these holdings, some worthy examples deserve immediate mention.

One of the most important new additions enters our collection of Renaissance medals: a cast bronze commemorating the Roman emperor Constantine I "The Great" (AD 307–337) (Fig. 1). This rare and relatively famous issue portrays an image of the emperor on horseback, surrounded by the Latin inscription "Constantine, faithful in Christ our God, emperor and ruler of the Romans and forever exalted." On the reverse are the images of two female figures (probably *Virtue and Vice*), with the true cross between them, with the "Tree of Life" (*Lignum Vitae*) and the "Fountain of Life" (*Fons Vitae*), surrounded by the inscription "God forbid that I should glory in anything save the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ" (Gal. 6:14). The original example of the "Constantine" medallion—as well as its famous companion commemorating the Byzantine emperor Heraclius (AD 610–641)—was purchased in November 1402 from Antonio Mancini, a Florentine merchant in

Fig. 1. France. Constantine I Commemorative bronze medallion, artist unknown, ca. 1400. (ANS 2008.9.1, purchase) 87.0 mm.

Paris, for the collection of the Duc de Berry. One of the first genuine medallic portraits produced in the post-Antique world, it more closely reflected the features of the contemporary Byzantine emperor Manuel II Palaeologus, who visited Paris in that period (c.1400–1402), than the visage of Constantine I. As only a few copies survive, this medal is an important historical artifact in the European tradition and is a great illustration of the dawning of the Renaissance. The ANS is very proud to have in the collection this companion to our Heraclius piece.

Another interesting cast medal of the early Renaissance period in the collection (Fig. 2) represents the bust of Ulysses Musotti (Ulixes Musotus, 1508–1515). On one side, this Bolognese lawyer is shown wearing a "skullcap"; symbols of intellectual work—a globe, compass, sand clock, candle, ink cup, paper, scissors, and books—appear on the other. This medal was attributed by Dr. Julius Friedländer to Francesco Raibolini (called "Francia," 1450–1517), a leading artist of the Italian Renaissance. Francia gained distinction for his splendid medals of Pope Julius II and for a substantial number of medals of the Italian princes passing through Bologna at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Fig. 2. Italy. Ulysses Musotti (Ulixes Musotus, 1508–1515). Bronze portrait medal, by Francesco Raibolini (1450–1517). (ANS 2008.9.7, purchase) 65.6 mm.

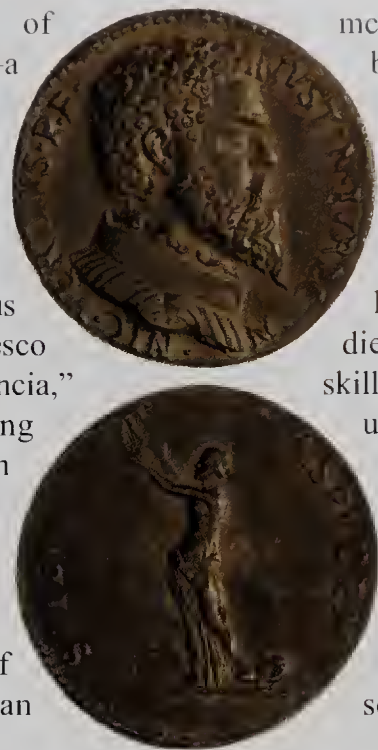


Fig. 3. Italy. Nicolo (Niccolo) Verzi. Bronze portrait medal, by Giovanni Cavino (1500–1570). (ANS 2008.9.3, purchase) 33.0 mm.

Two cast medals—one, with the image of Nicolo (Niccolo) Verzi, a jurist of Capo d'Istria (Capodistria) (Fig. 3), and the other, containing the portrait of Marco Mantova Benavidi (1489–1582), a professor of jurisprudence at the university of Padua (Fig. 4)—represent the work of Giovanni de Bartolommeo Cavino (Giovanni Cavino, 1500–1570). There is also a fine struck example of a Cavino medal, one bearing the image of Dulci (Giovanni An. Vin.), a jurist of Padua (Fig. 5). Cavino was a notorious Paduan medalist and goldsmith known for his excellence in crafting the dies for a series of struck pieces that imitated ancient coins, particularly Roman *sestertii*. However, he also struck portrait medals of contemporary Paduan notables. The style of their effigies is delicate, keen, and particularly individualized. The images on the reverses—such as a half-draped female raising her hands toward the sun or crushing a serpent, an image of a Roman temple, or an allegorical representation of Genius—like many other designs on Cavino's works, show a strong connection with the Classical sources of the Roman artistic tradition.

Another interesting Renaissance medal is a handsome cast uniface bronze (Fig. 6) of Hans Fries (Johannes Frisius, 1505–1565), a Zurich scholar and lexicographer. This piece is the work of Jakob Stampfer (1505/6–1579), a leading Swiss medalist and die cutter who developed his skill in southern Germany and, upon returning to Switzerland in 1530, became master of important public offices in Zurich. There, he issued portrait medals of Swiss reformers and oversaw the introduction of both large-scale production and the first mint mechanization in Switzerland. This new ANS medal, designed by Stampfer in 1540, is a fine example of the Swiss Renaissance medallic tradition and an important addition to our collection.

One of the most outstanding silver examples in the Kisch collection (Fig. 7) is known as the *Cambyses' Justice* or *Judgment of Cambyses* medal.. This important Renaissance piece shows a legendary scene con-

Fig. 4. Italy. Marco Mantova Benavidi (1489–1582). Bronze portrait medal, by Giovanni Cavino (1500–1570). (ANS 2008.9.4, purchase) 37.0 mm.

Fig. 5. Italy. Dulci (Giovanni An. Vin.). 1539. Bronze portrait medal, by Giovanni Cavino (1500–1570). (ANS 2008.9.8, purchase) 37.0 mm.

nected with the harsh ancient Persian king Cambyses. It was clearly intended by the artist to demonstrate in the most dramatic manner the wisdom, justice, and personal responsibility required of judges. The obverse illustrates an incident as told by Herodotus (5.25): "Otanes' father Sisamnes had been one of the royal judges; Cambyses had cut his throat and flayed off all his skin because he had been bribed to give an unjust judgment; and he had then cut leather strips of the skin which had been torn away and covered therewith the seat whereon Sisamnes had sat to give judgment; which having done, Cambyses appointed the son of his slain and flayed Sisamnes to be judge in his place, admonishing him to remember what was the judgment-seat whereon he sat."

The moralizing effect of Cambyses' acts is emphasized by the inscription on the medal's reverse: "Cambyses respected law and justice as one can perceive from punishment." Interestingly, the Cambyses medal came to the Kisch collection from a famous lifelong collector, Dr. Edward Gans, professor of the Near Eastern Studies Department at the

Fig. 6. Switzerland. Hans Fries (Johannes Frisius, 1505–1565). PB portrait medal, by Jakob Stampfer (1505/6–1579). (ANS 2008.9.2, purchase) 39.0 mm.

University of California, Berkeley. Gans had obtained it in 1940 from the collection of Dr. Nussbaum, who originally acquired it in 1937 from the Zentralbibliothek, in Zurich. Dr. Philip Lederer, who catalogued the Nussbaum collection, dated the *Judgment of Cambyses* to about 1550 and attributed it to an unidentified master from Augsburg, in Bavaria (the name or initial of the artist is not presented on the medal). Professor Gans felt, however, that the technique and style of the medal suggested that the medalist was instead from the lower Rhine region. Dr. Kisch, who researched the medal in comparison with the masterwork paintings *The Judgment of Cambyses* and *The Flaying of Sisamnes* (1498, Bruges, Groeningemuseum) of Gerard David (1460–1523), the early Dutch Renaissance artist, suggested that Flanders or Lower Germany are indeed much more probable as the medal's place of production than is Bavaria. He likewise dated the issue to the mid-sixteenth century.

An interesting portrait of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (Jean d'Oldenbarnevelt, 1547–1619), one of the greatest statesmen and diplomats in early modern European history, is represented on a medal of the late Dutch Renaissance period (Fig. 8). Serving the United Provinces as Pensionary of Rotterdam and Advocate of Holland, Oldenbarnevelt laid the legal foundations of the United Provinces, and his statesmanship as a constitutional libertarian

Fig. 7. Germany. *Cambyses' Justice* or the *Judgment of Cambyses*. Silver medal, mid-sixteenth century AD. (ANS 2008.9.5, purchase) 52.6 mm.

helped plot the country's course through to the modern Netherlands of today. A skilful negotiator, he performed various diplomatic missions and succeeded in concluding a truce with Spain in 1609, demonstrating the independence of the United Provinces. At the head of the Republican Party, he opposed the ambitions of the hereditary *Stathouder* of the Netherlands, Maurice of Nassau, the Prince of Orange, which led to the advocate's downfall. Oldenbarnevelt was exposed to violent attacks when the religious turmoil between Calvinists and Arminians boiled over, and he was arrested and arraigned before a special court of twenty-four members—nearly all of them his personal enemies. On May 13, 1619, the elder statesman, at the age of seventy-one, was beheaded. The ANS's newly acquired bronze medal, made in 1619 by the Dutch artist Simon in commemoration of Van Oldenbarnevelt's

Fig. 8. Netherlands. Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (Jean d'Oldenbarnevelt, 1547–1619). Bronze commemorative medal, by Simon, 1619. (ANS 2008.9.10, purchase) 46.7 mm.

Fig. 9. Italy. Giovanni Vincenzo Gravina (1664–1718). Bronze portrait medal, by Tommaso Mercandetti (1797–1821), 1805. (ANS 2008.9.17, purchase) 67.0 mm.

Fig. 10. Jacques M. Curasson (1790–1842). Bronze commemorative medal, by Jemaire, 1844. (ANS 2008.9.13, purchase) 54.0 mm.

life and death, is a small recognition belatedly paid him by his country for forty-three years of devoted service.

Also among the new Kisch medallic accessions is a bronze commemorative piece (Fig. 9) bearing the image of Giovanni Vincenzo Gravina (1664–1718), Italian jurist and *littérateur*. At the age of sixteen Gravina went from Calabria to Naples to study Latin, Greek, and law. Upon his graduation in 1689, he came to Rome, where he taught civil and canon law, juristic activities that did not, however, cause him to lose his love of poetry. In 1690, under the name of Opico Erimanto, he became a co-founder of the *Accademia degli Arcadi* of Rome, devoted to poetry; later, he tried unsuccessfully to establish an "*Anti-Arcadia*" for other fields. Gravina had just been called to an important chair of law at the University of Turin when he fell ill and died at Rome in 1718. Our medal's portrait of Gravino was designed in 1805 by Tommaso Mercandetti (1797–1821), a renowned Roman medalist, who achieved a realistic image of the gifted scholar, poet, and educator. In connection with the allegorical allusions on its reverse, this work is an impeccable representation of eighteenth-century neoclassicism in medallic art.

The extensive series of pieces bearing representations of famous lawyers, scholars, and legal politicians continues with medallic works of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Among the images of this portrait gallery are a representation of Jacques M. Curasson (1790–1842), French civil-code jurisconsult, designed by Jemaire (1844) (Fig. 10); an artistic bronze medal dedicated to V. H. J. Delecourtof, president of the Rechtbank in Brussels (1855) (Fig. 11); and a marvelous impression of Alphonse Nothomb (1817–1898), Belgian minister of justice (1855) (Fig. 12). The last two of these medals are spectacular works of Leopold Wiener, a Belgian sculptor and engraver of the second half of the nineteenth century. Among other masterworks of this period is a fascinating bronze plaque designed by Ch. Samuel (Fig. 13), with an image of Charles Alexandre Louis Graux (1837–1910), a Belgian lawyer and professor at the *Université Libre de Bruxelles* who was an authority on stichometry, a leading freemason, and Belgian minister of finance (1878–1884). Also included in the collection is a bronze shell (Fig. 14) from an original bronze medal dedicated to the famous Prussian naturalist and explorer Baron Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859), designed by Swiss-born Berlin Royal Mint Engraver Henri Francois Brandt (1789–1845). An interesting uniface

Fig. 11. Belgium. V. H. J. Delecourtof. Bronze commemorative medal, by Leopold Wiener, 1854. (ANS 2008.9.12, purchase) 62.0 mm.

Fig. 12. Belgium. Alphonse Nothomb (1817–1898). Bronze commemorative medal, by Leopold Wiener, 1855. (ANS 2008.9.14, purchase) 67.0 mm.

Fig. 13. Belgium. Charles Alexandre Louis Graux (1837–1910). Bronze commemorative plaque, by Ch. Samuel. (ANS 2008.9.11, purchase) 51.0 x 69.0 mm.

bronze plaquette (Fig. 15) was designed at the beginning of the twentieth century by the eminent French artist Jean-Marie Camus (1877–1955); it bears a representation of Paul Camille Hippolyte Brouardel (1837–1906). A professor of the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Paris and a member of the French Academy of Sciences and the National Academy of Medicine, Brouardel had a great interest in the application of the forensic sciences to the legal system in relation to criminal and civil actions. For many years he was an forensic expert and president of the French Society of Forensic Science and Criminology.

The ANS's existing collection of Vatican medals, which already contributes much to a numismatic understanding of the sophisticated history of the Papal State and various religious movements, triumphs, and losses, was enriched by a curious unsigned bronze medal of Pope Pius IX (1792–1878) (Fig. 16). This work commemorated the First Vatican Ecumenical Council, held at Rome in December 1869. It bears a realistic depiction of the Pope wearing the *zucchetto*, *mozzetta*, and *stole* on the obverse, and on the reverse, an image of the North Transept of St. Peter's Basilica, where the first of the ecumenical council's three sessions took place. During the council, there was discussion and approval of two new constitutions: the *Dei Filius*, the Dogmatic Constitution on the Catholic Faith, and the *Pastor Aeternus*, the First Dogmatic Constitution on the Church of Christ, dealing with the concepts of the Pope's primacy and infallibility. The outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 interrupted the council, which was suspended following the entry of the Italian Army into Rome and never resumed. (Officially, it was only closed in 1960 by Pope John XXIII, during the preparations for the Second Vatican Council.)

Another fine addition to the cabinet is a group of medals dedicated to European universities, libraries, research institutions, and students' societies. Among these is a peculiar silver issue (Fig. 17) with images of students from three of the oldest German universities, those of Leipzig, Wittenberg, and Jena. One is depicted holding a large cup, one, a burning heart, and the third a drawn sword. The reverse inscription, "He who comes back from Leipzig without a wife, who comes back from Wittenberg with a healthy body, and from Jena without having had a fight, can consider himself very lucky," reflects the legendarily cheerful spirit of the medieval European students' "fraternity." This medal was produced by Christian Wermuth (1661–1739), the famous German die engraver for the Ducal House of Saxony (1688) and King Frederick I's court of Prussia (1703), who might be best known to Americans for his whimsical medals relating to the folly of the Mississippi Bubble and the fall of French finance minister John Law (1720s). Many of Wermuth's works focused on satirical subjects and some are of great rarity.

Fig. 14. Germany. Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859). Commemorative bronze shell by Henri Francois Brandt (1789–1845). (ANS 2008.9.26, purchase) 76.0 mm.

Another silver medal (Fig. 18) commemorates the two-hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the Gymnasium of Halle (1565–1765). The obverse bears an image of its founder, Sigismund von Hohenzollern, margrave of Brandenburg and archbishop of Magdeburg (1538–1566), who died and was buried in the city. The reverse shows an interesting architectural design of the sixteenth-century school building. This piece is an excellent example of the medallic work of Johann Leonhard Oexlein (1715–1787).

On September 9, 1409, the *Hohe Schule* of Leipzig was officially recognized by a confirming bull of Pope Alexander V, and in 1909, this university—one of the oldest in all of Europe and the second oldest in Germany (after Heidelberg)—celebrated its five-hundredth anniversary. A handsome bronze plaquette by the German sculptor and medalist Max Lange (b. 1876) celebrated this event (Fig. 19). For the design on this marvelous work, Lange used an image of the holy patrons of the university, Saints Laurentius and John the Baptist, shown standing on pedestals under a Gothic baldachin, copied from the ancient large seal of the *Alma Mater Lipsiensi*, dated 1409.

Another Kisch collection bronze medal, this one by the Belgian artist Franz Vermeylen (1857–1922), bears a beautiful interior view of a famous university library (Fig. 20). This issue memorializes tragic episodes in the history of another "Old" seat of higher learning, the Belgian university of Louvain (Leuven). The story of this institution starts in the fifteenth century, when the city, with the support of John IV, duke of Brabant, made a formal request to establish an ecclesiastical center of higher education. It was founded on December 9, 1425, by a bull of Pope Martin V, as a *Studium Generale*—one of the oldest Catholic universities in the world. Louvain's constitution was based upon the universities of Paris, Cologne, and Vienna; its first library was located inside the university halls and was enlarged in 1725 in a baroque style. During World War I, in 1914, a large part of the city was

Fig. 15. France. Paul Camille Hippolyte Brouardel (1837–1906). Bronze commemorative plaque, by Jean-Marie Camus (1877–1955). (ANS 2008.9.28, purchase) 91.5 x 76.5 mm.

Fig. 16. Papal State. The First Vatican Ecumenical Council. Bronze commemorative medal. December 1869. (ANS 2008.9.25, purchase) 72.5 mm.

Fig. 17. Germany. Silver satirical medal, by Christian Wermuth (1661–1739). (ANS 2008.9.23, purchase) 43.4 mm.

Fig. 18. Germany. Two-hundredth anniversary of the Gymnasium of Halle (1565–1765) foundation silver commemorative medal, by Johann Leonhard Oexlein (1715–1787). (ANS 2008.9.29, purchase) 45.0 mm.

Fig. 19. Germany. Five-hundredth anniversary of the foundation of Leipzig University bronze commemorative plaque, by Max Lange. (ANS 2008.9.21, purchase) 98x 67 mm.

burned by German troops, and the library lost about 300,000 books and a huge collection of manuscripts. The new library replacing it, one of the largest buildings in the city, was designed in a neo-Renaissance style by the American architect Whitney Warren (designer of New York's Grand Central Station) between 1921 and 1928. But during the second German invasion of Belgium, in 1940, the new university library, which by that time included over 900,000 manuscripts and books, was again largely burned down. After World War II, the library was rebuilt once more, according to Warren's design, and became the central library of the *Katholieke Universiteit Leuven*.

A bronze French institutional medal of 1874 represents a view from above of the *Palais de Justice* of the Department of the Seine, in Paris (Fig. 21). This site was popular as a residence from the time of the early Roman governors and throughout the reigns of the French royal dynasties. Perhaps the most notable of those who lived in the palace was (Saint) Louis IX, who built the nearby Sainte Chapelle, an intimate masterpiece of stained glass and the light Gothic style. The complex of structures, rebuilt in modern times, includes various courts and also houses the *Conciergerie*—the former prison where Marie Antoinette was incarcerated before being executed on the guillotine. This medal, produced by French medalist Jean Lagrange, chief engraver at the Paris Mint, reflects the beautiful architectural complex of the Parisian landmark and reminds us of the human drama and dark history of that "Palace of Justice" where, during the French Revolution, Justice herself was an unwelcome guest!

The ANS has also obtained, through the Kisch collection purchase, several other bronze medals dedicated to the punitive element of the law. This group includes a rectangular, oblong plaquette (Fig. 22) known as the *Inauguration of the Prisons of Fresners-lès-Rungis*—a medal designed in 1900 by Louis Oscar Roty (1846–1911), one of the greatest medalists of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It presents a dramatic composition of a prisoner's life and his release from confinement. A famous bronze concordant medal, *La Cantine du Soldat Prisonnier* (Fig. 23) is devoted to the prisoners of World War I. It bears, on the obverse, images of a woman and child presenting a gift or food through a small opening in a door and, on the reverse, a prisoner kissing the hand of the giver on the obverse after having accepted the package. This work is a masterpiece of the noted prolific Belgian sculptor and engraver Godefroid Devreese (1861–1941). Among other related interesting historical artifacts is a small bronze plaquette (Fig. 24) issued by the Belgian Federation of Political Prisoners in commemoration of outstanding achievement. It was awarded to

Fig. 20. Belgium. University of Louvain (Leuven). Bronze commemorative medal by Franz Vermeylen (1857–1922). (ANS 2008.9.24, purchase) 60.0 mm.

Fig. 21. France. "Palais de Justice." Bronze commemorative medal by Jean Lagrange, 1874. (ANS 2008.9.15, purchase) 73.0 mm.

[illegible] France. [illegible] Bronze plaquette by [illegible] (ANS [illegible] purchase) [illegible] mm.

Adolphe Max (1869–1939), who during the German invasion in 1914, was serving as mayor of Brussels (1909–1939). He opposed the German government's orders and, in punishment for his patriotic position, was arrested and deported. Escaping from his prison at the end of the war, he reached Brussels and was received by the king of Belgium as a hero. He was appointed minister of state and promoted to "Great Officer of the Order of Leopold." In 1919, Max was elected a member of the Institut de France and the Royal Academy of Belgium. His political activities and administrative work left a deep mark on the city of Brussels and on Belgian political life in the first half of the twentieth century.

A brief survey of this recent acquisition clearly indicates the great importance of the Guido Kisch collection. This colorful and varied assemblage of medals, in combination with the ANS's own previous holdings, should contribute significantly to future researches on medallic objects in their cultural contexts. It also serves as a tribute to the memory of a great collector and encourage an appreciation of both his passion for assembling a marvelous collection and of his personal and professional belief in ideals of wise, upright, and superior principles of Justice. ANSM

Fig. 23. Belgium. "La Cantine du Soldat Prisonnier." Bronze concordant medal by Godefroid Devreese (1861–1941). (ANS 2008.9.18, purchase) 55.00 mm.

Fig. 24. Belgium. Bronze commemorative plaquette, dedicated to Adolphe Max (1869–1939), issued by the Belgian Federation of Political Prisoners. (ANS 2008.9.18, purchase) 70.0 x 52.0 mm.

CURRENT CABINET ACTIVITIES BY ROBERT WILSON HOGE

Tales to Be Told: One Hundred and Fifty Years... and Counting

The American Numismatic Society began its mission of assisting researchers and answering inquiries in 1858. At a time when coin collecting was just beginning to take hold in the public's imagination in this country, the ANS sought to promote understanding and awareness of the field of numismatics as a key component in the structures of civilization. Today, while this great program continues as actively as ever—along with the marvelous growth of the Society's collection, library, and publications—it is a good time to think back over all the vast amount of study and work involved on the occasions when the "cabinet activities" have served the public.

Every numismatic item tells a story, and a great, comprehensive collection like that of the ANS can help put each storied piece into a meaningful context, amplifying its tale. Over the years, generous far-sighted donors have built this edifice of information to the extent that it can help interpret almost anything in history and culture. Every question is a quest, a starting point for finding connections, and in the following pages I am pleased to present various byways of the courses investigators have explored and are exploring. These quests afford me the opportunity to illustrate a selection of pieces from the cabinet—pieces that might not otherwise see the "light of day" for some time. Not all their full stories can be told, of course, but it is my hope that items I present here may themselves be very suggestive and that perhaps readers may wish to delve further. Indeed, I hope you take away from whatever I can relate here a touch of something tantalizing or enlightening that may lead to further numismatic adventures.

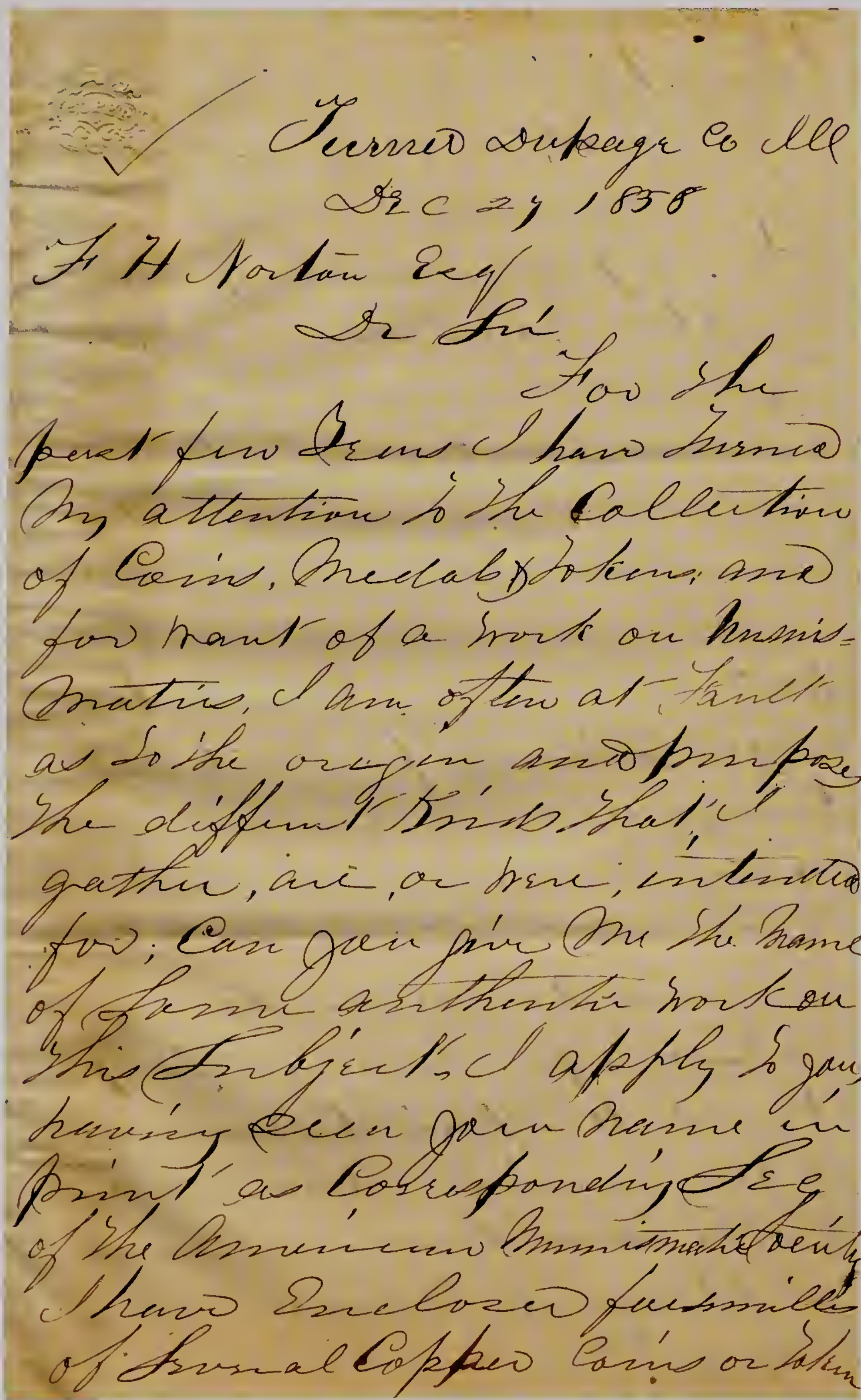
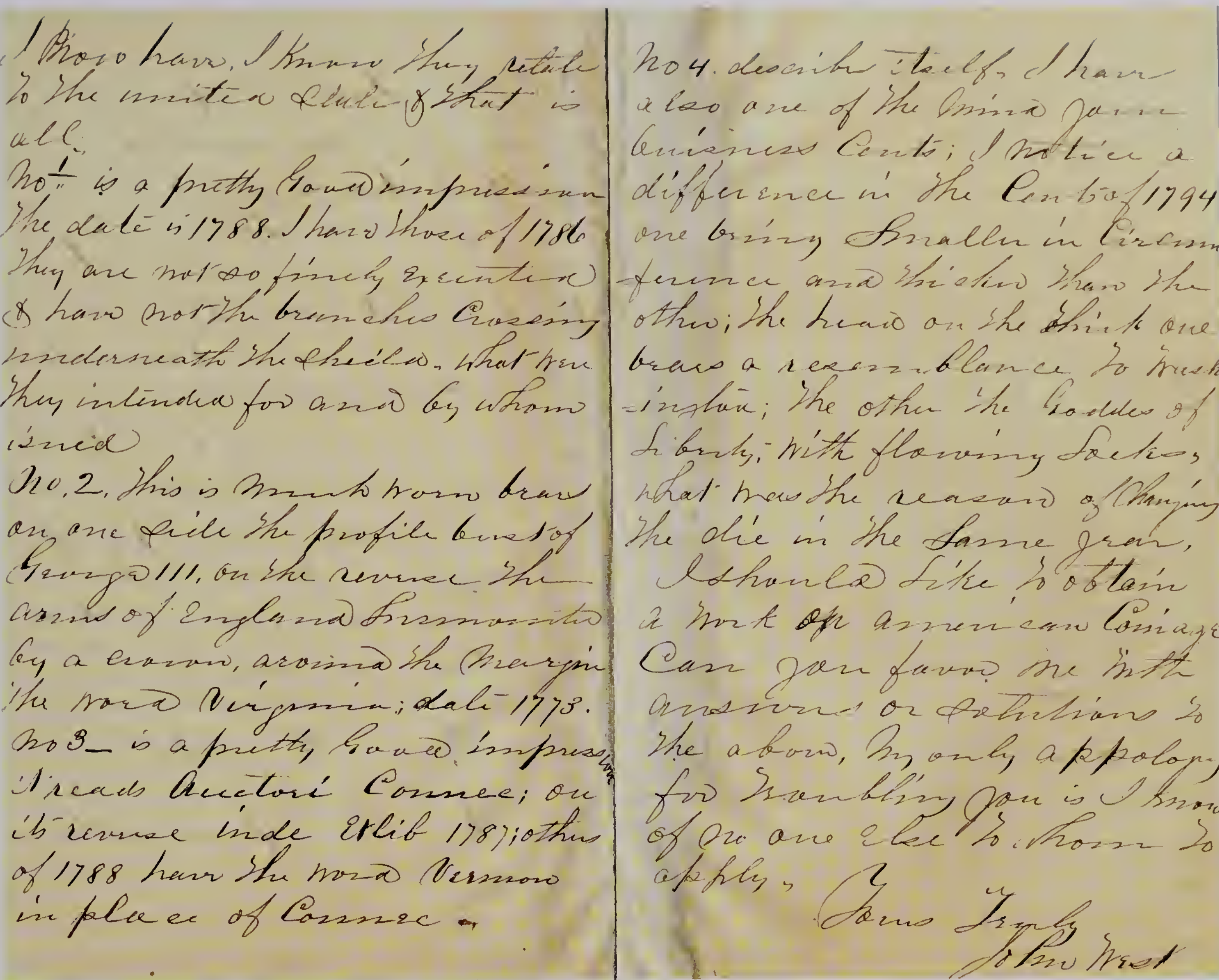

Turner Dupage Co Ill
Dec 27, 1858
F H Norton Esq
Dr Sir
For the past few Years I have turned My attention to the Collection of Coins, Medals & Tokens, and for want of a work on Numismatics, I am often at fault as to the origin and purpose the different kinds that I gather, are, or were, intended for; Can you give Me the name of Some authentic work on this Subject, I apply to you having Seen your name in print as Corresponding Sec of the American Numismatic Society I have Enclosed facsimiles of Several Copper Coins or Token

Fig. 1. Original letter from John West to Frank H. Norton, December 27, 1858, page 1 (frontis). The letter was previously published with numerous transcription errors (Bowers 1998, 397). ANS Archives. 125 x 200 mm.

Take a look now, for instance, at possibly the first inquiry the Society ever received (Figs. 1–3). It is a fairly detailed letter from one John West, dated December 27, 1858, and addressed to Frank H. Norton. In it, West enclosed rubbings and descriptions of some coins in his possession, in the hope that Norton, at that time corresponding secretary—and later, president—of the newly established ANS, could help him with identifications, interpretations, and references, just as the ANS staff does for people today. Although the contents have been previously published, the importance of



I Also have, I know they relate
to the United States & that is
all.
No 1 is a pretty Good impression
The date is 1788. I have those of 1786
they are not so finely executed
& have not the branches crossing
underneath the shield. what were
they intended for and by whom
issued
No. 2. this is much worn bears
on one side the profile bust of
George III, on the reverse the
arms of England surmounted
by a crown, around the margin
the word Virginia; date 1773.
No 3 is a pretty Good impression
it reads Auctori Connec; on
its reverse inde Et lib 1787; others
of 1788 have the word Vermon
in place of Connec.

No 4. describes itself. I have
also one of the Mind your
business Cents; I notice a
difference in the Cents of 1794
one being smaller in circum-
ference and thicker than the
other; the head on the thick one
bears a resemblance to Wash-
ington; the other the Goddess of
Liberty, with flowing locks,
what was the reason of changing
the die in the same year,
I should like to obtain
a work on American Coinage
Can you favor me with
answers or solutions to
the above, my only apology
for troubling you is I know
of no one else to whom to
apply.
Yours Truly
John West

Fig. 2. December 27, 1858, letter from John West to Frank H. Norton, pages 2–3 (verso, open). ANS Archives. 250 x 200 mm.

Fig. 3. December 27, 1858, letter from John West to Frank H. Norton, enclosed slip with rubbings of coins. ANS Archives. 165 x 75 mm.

this message had to wait 150 years to be fully recognized, so I offer its story again now (edited for clarity).

Turner, DuPage Co. Ill.
Dec. 27, 1858

F. H. Norton, Esq.

Dear Sir:

For the past few years I have turned my attention to the collection of coins, medals & tokens, and for want of a work on numismatics, I am often at fault as to the origin and purposes the different kinds that I gather, are, or were, intended for. Can you give me the name of some authentic work on this subject? I apply to you, having seen your name in print as Corresponding Sec'y of the American Numismatic Society. I have enclosed facsimiles of several copper coins or tokens I now have. I know they relate to the United States, and that is all.

No. 1 is a pretty good impression. The date is 1788. I have those of 1786. They are not so finely executed & have not the branches crossing underneath the shield. What were they intended for and by whom issued?

No. 2. This is much worn, bears on one side the profile bust of George III, on the reverse the arms of England surmounted by a crown, [and] around the margin, the word "Virginia"; date, 1773.

No. 3 is a pretty good impression. It reads *Auctori Connec*; on its reverse, *inde et lib* 1787; others of 1788 have the word "Vermon" in place of "Connec".

No. 4 describes itself. I have also one of the "mind your business" cents; I notice a difference in the cents of 1794, one being smaller in circumference and thicker than the other; the head on the thick one bears a resemblance to Washington; the other, the goddess of Liberty, with flowing locks. What was the reason of changing the die in the same year?

I should like to obtain a work on American coinage. Can you favor me with answers or solutions to the above? My only apology for troubling you is I know of no one else to whom to apply.

Yours Truly,
John West

We do not know what, if any, reply to his letter West may have received from Norton, but the story of his coins does not end there. Eminent numismatist Q. David Bowers featured the West letter and rubbings in his *American Numismatics Before the Civil War*. Then last year, one of those illustrated images caught the discerning eye of colonial American specialist Ray Williams, who recognized that the rubbings of two sides of a 1788 New Jersey copper did not seem to correspond to any of the known die combinations that had been previously recorded. At his instigation, fellow colonial specialist Roger Siboni examined the actual rubbing in the ANS archives and was able to confirm that the West coin must indeed have been what we can now call a Maris 77-cc (Maris 1881).

Hitherto, the very rarely encountered Maris cc "running fox" (some have preferred to call it a "running horse") reverse die had been recorded only as paired with the Maris 76 obverse. But only months before, Siboni had been called upon to examine and help authenticate a poorly preserved coin that appeared to demonstrate the unknown die pairing of Maris obverse 77 with the cc reverse (Siboni 2002, 3111–3114). Since then, yet another example has reportedly surfaced of this ultra-rare emission. Now, might the long-lost West specimen of this elusive coin someday turn up, to be the third and finest surviving specimen of this issue? Unbeknownst to West, Norton, Maris, or any other earlier collectors, the clearly well-preserved West coin was the discovery specimen—now lost—of a great American rarity!

Indeed, the Maris 76-cc variety, formerly the exclusive pairing known for that reverse, is itself known as one of the significant rarities in the New Jersey Confederation copper series, with only four pieces documented. The more common Maris 77 obverse is normally found paired only with the Maris dd reverse. Both of these reverses are examples of the famous and popular New Jersey variety with a "running fox" design incorporated into the punctuation of their legends, a device believed to be a distinction imparted to his productions by New York silversmith John Bailey (Trudgen 1990, 1162–1163).

West's rubbings on the slip of paper were evidently carefully positioned over both sides of the coins so as to impart the correct orientation of the obverse and reverse dies relative to one another. The resulting odd axis (about 135 degrees, or 4:30) for the New Jersey coin, noticed by Williams, has been confirmed by the new discovery coin reported by Siboni.

Anticipating Antiquity

The ancient world of the Greeks and Romans always provides a rich source of subject matter for the public's entertainment. Think of all the novels and films that cater to this taste—not to mention the popularity of actual archaeological studies and documentary presentations. Dr. Gretchen Meyers, assistant professor at the classics department of Franklin

Fig. 4. Sicily: Gela. AR tetradrachm (c. 450–440 BC). Obverse 71; reverse 146. Jenkins 363.3 (this coin). (ANS 1997.9.3, gift of the estate of John D. Leggett Jr.) 26 mm.

and Marshall College, ordered for reproduction in a volume of conference proceedings to be published by Brill an image of the coin type from

the Ancient Sicilian Greek city-state of Gela (Fig. 4). These feature the head of the river god Acheloos, depicted as a man-headed bull. Among the various nice examples of such pieces in the cabinet, a tetradrachm from the beautiful collection of ancient Greek coins of the late ANS Council member John D. Leggett Jr. admirably serves the purpose!

Debbie Latronica, image permission coordinator for Pearson Education, ordered images of a portrait denarius of Julius Caesar for use in a forthcoming art history textbook revision. Michael Koortbojian, Nancy H. and Robert E. Hall professor in the humanities at the Johns Hopkins University art history department, ordered images of a Spanish denarius of Augustus for use in another forthcoming publication. Wendy Cheshire ordered images of three coins of Faustina the Younger.

Orientalia

Deborah Nicholls, photo project specialist for Pearson Education, ordered images of a Parthian drachm of Orodes II for use in the publication of *Ecce Romani III*.

Massoume Price ordered images of a number of intriguing coins of ancient Iranian dynasties. Among

Fig. 5. Parthian Empire. Phraatacès. AR tetradrachm, Seleucia mint, year 314 (AD 2/3). Rev. bust of queen Musa, r. Sellwood 58.5. (ANS 1944.100.82964, bequest of Edward T. Newell, ex Petrowitz coll.) 28 mm.

these are scarce issues of the Parthian queen Musa (Fig. 5) and the Sasanian queen Buran (Fig. 6), bearing their images. Others are a scarce donative issue of Buran's father Khusru II (Fig. 7), bearing a representation on the reverse of the goddess Anahit, and an earlier coin of Vahrham II,

Fig. 6. Sasanian Empire. Buran. AR drahm, year 2 (AD 630/1). Gobl I/1. (ANS 1920.999.254; this specimen would appear to be a coin purchased from Spink & Son, Ltd., in 1920 but recorded without reference to this documentation; it should have been given the accession prefix 1920.146). 32 mm. Buran ("bestower of prosperity") was a daughter of the great Khusru II ("deathless soul") and sister of Azarmidukht.

Fig. 7. Sasanian Empire. Khusru II (AD 590–628). AV dinar, year 23. Rev. Anahit. Gobl III/4, no. 217. (ANS 1960.10.1, in exchange from Burton Y. Berry) 23 mm.

including the portraits of the queen and young prince as heir along with the king's. The coins focused on early Oriental female rulers and the context of their issues.

We routinely receive requests for help with all sorts of Asian coins, for identification, evaluation, interpretation, or illustration in publications. An Indian coin, among others, ordered for recent photography was a silver rupee of Safdar 'Ali Khan from Alamparai, in the Carnatic, requested by Jürgen Brockmeier (Fig. 8). This piece (an example of KM 436.7) bears the Arkat dynasty ruler's regnal year 23 (AH 1153), dating the coin to 1740/1.

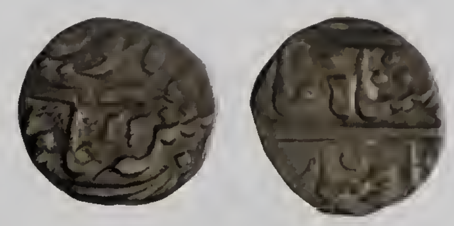


Fig. 8. India: Madras, Arkat dynasty. Safdar 'Ali Khan. AR rupee, [Alamparai], year 23 (AH 1153 = AD 1740/1). (ANS 1983.110.414, gift of Charles K. Panish) 20 mm.

An Odd Find from "Down Under"

From Lucy Carne, of Brisbane, Queensland, a reporter for *The Sunday Mail*, Australia's third largest newspaper, came a curious inquiry that had been sent originally to Great Britain for response. There, an image and its explanation were passed along by Jonathan Cole, of the Oxford Centre of Maritime Archaeology, to our colleague Andrew Meadows, now Associate Margaret Thompson Curator of Ancient Greek Coins here at the ANS, who forwarded it to me for identification and interpretation. The evocative story, as related by Carne, is the following.

Last August, Australian archaeologist Greg Jeffries discovered a coin on a sand bar on North Stradbroke Island, off the coast of southern Queensland. It was in a swampy area where local Aboriginal legends hold that there had been a shipwreck (Spanish or Portuguese?), about which rumors have circulated for decades. Naturally, the government and the Queensland Museum were said to be reluctant to speculate about the possibility of the arrival of Europeans in Australia before Captain Cook. Carne was looking for opinions on a possible Spanish or Portuguese presence on Australia's east coast before Captain Cook and wanted to know what conclusions could be drawn from the discovery of a potentially relevant coin. Of course, without further work and corroboration, it would not be possible to draw any conclusions, but the mere report of such a find was fascinating.

Perhaps one of the most intriguing aspects of the Stradbroke Island coin

for me, however, was the fact that, upon examination, the single image available revealed that the coin was

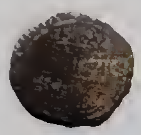


Fig. 9. England. Elizabeth I. AR threepence (?), 1593 (i.m. tun?). Reportedly found on North Stradbroke Island, Queensland, Australia. The Sunday Mail, Brisbane. Actual size unknown, perhaps about 13 mm.

an issue of English queen Elizabeth I (1558–1603) (Fig. 9). The design elements visible are those typical of the reverse of a date-bearing silver coin of the reign—that is, the sixpence, and the threepence, and the strangely denominated three-halfpence and three-farthing pieces, handy for Elizabethans needing to make change. The arrangement and proportions suggest that the coin's denomination is probably threepence, which could be confirmed by the size and weight (not provided) and by comparison with other specimens (not possible for us). I read the date as apparently 1593; the initial mark, as a tun. The unseen other side of the coin (i.e., the obverse) would bear the "virgin queen's" left-facing crowned portrait with a Tudor rose to the right, surrounded by her name and titles in the outer margin starting at 12:00, following the obverse initial mark.

As with the famous case of the controversial eleventh-century Norse coin reportedly found in an archaeological site in Maine, this discovery raises a number of questions. First, is it genuine? Why was it there? How and when did it get there? If indeed there were a Spanish or Portuguese wreck on Stradbroke Island (it was separated into North and South Stradbroke Islands by a storm in 1896), what might be the meaning of this coin? Was it "planted" there as a hoax? Was it a small part of the regular international trade patterns that were beginning to develop in the early postmedieval world? Was it loot taken from a successful Spanish raid against British subjects? Proceeds from some small sale to an Englishman? Maybe it once belonged to one of the few intrepid English mariners who are known to have ventured into the East Asian seas by approximately 1600. Or maybe it once belonged to an unfortunate numismatist, a collector of English hammered coins. Might Viscount Dunwich (Captain H. J. Rous), who, in 1827, commanded HMS *Rainbow*—the first British warship that put in to the island—have been such? Dunwich was the son of the Earl of Stradbroke, whose name he bestowed upon the island at this time. As a worldly gentleman, might he have taken up numismatology? Entertaining to speculate, perhaps, but unlikely.... Still, where did it come from?

Today, North Stradbroke Island is known as the location of large-scale sand-mining operations (a valuable source of titanium dioxide), which have moved from the beaches into the interior. Contrarily, it has also gained a popular reputation as an important nature reserve, with beautiful beaches and encompassing a rich diversity of habitat as well as the region's oldest known archaeological site. Judging from the coin found, it might also be the location of the earliest-dated evidence of European contact in Australia.

Farthings, for Instance...

Questions can come in all sizes and shapes. Over time, some small and odd bits and pieces may be overlooked. In medieval England and Scotland, when the standard silver penny represented a significant amount of purchasing power, making correct change was a difficult and problematic matter. From time to time during the late Anglo-Saxon, Norman, and early Plantagenêt periods, the king's money utilized as a reverse type designs that featured a "voided" cross. Such a cross was formed by equally spaced double lines, which made it convenient to cut or split the coins along these preexisting perforations to produce halves or quarters (halfpennies and farthings) as the need might arise. Thus British

Fig. 10. England. Edward "The Confessor" (1042–1066). AR (cut) farthings, small flan type (c. 1049–1050), moneyer Aelfstan (London mint?). Spink (penny) 1175. (ANS 0000.999.660) 7.4 x 8.4 mm.

Fig. 11. Scotland. William I "The Lion" (1165–1214). AR (cut) farthing, short-cross type, Phase B (c. 1205?–1230?), joint Edinburgh and Perth issue of the moneyers Hue and Walter. Spink (penny) 5029. (Private coll.) 8.1 x 10.0 mm.

Fig. 12. England. Henry III (1216–1272). AR (cut) farthing, long-cross type, London mint (c. 1248–1250), Class 3. Spink (penny) 1362–4. (Private coll.) 8.9 x 9.3 mm.

farthings were originally the cut segments of a round silver penny divided into four (ostensibly equal) pieces. These little ill-made coins, so important in their day, are rarely collected or appreciated today (Figs. 10–12).

Farthings were first coined as an actual denomination in 1280, under Edward I Plantagenêt, but remained unusual—and inconveniently small—in the national economy. By the early seventeenth century, an increasingly great need was felt for a practical small-denomination medium of exchange. With the explosion of prosperity under Elizabeth and the union with Scotland under James I Stuart, not to mention colonization efforts and settlements in Ireland and

Fig. 13. England. Edward I (1272–1307). AR farthing, London mint (c. 1280), Class 8. Spink 1448. (ANS 1954.203.22, purchase, ex Herbert E. Ives coll.) 12 mm.

the New World, addressing this need was becoming ever more necessary (Fig. 13).

Having had some experience with low-valued coinage in his capacity as monarch of Scotland, on April 10, 1613, James granted a royal patent (an entitlement program, for a single-source contractor, good for a period of three years) to the prominent Elizabethan and Jacobean courtier Sir John Harington, first Baron Harington of Exton (1539/40–1614), for the manufacture and issuance of an overvalued token coinage (Figs. 14–15). Harington and the king anticipated substantial profits by introduc-

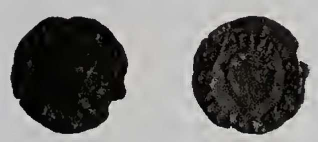


Fig. 14. Great Britain. James I (1603–1625). Cu (originally tinned) "Harington" patent royal farthing token, mm. C(?), Type 1a (c. 1613). Spink 2674; Nelson Pl. I, 13; Peck 30. (ANS 1949.113.463, purchase, ex J. F. Jones coll.) 12.7 mm.

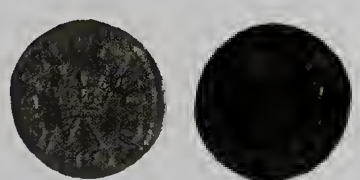


Fig. 15. Great Britain. James I (1603–1625). Cu "Lennox" patent royal farthing token, mm. flower; Type 3b (1614–1625). Spink 2678; Peck 56. (ANS 1971.124.1, gift of Ambassador and Mrs. R. Henry Norweb) 17 mm.

ing this first official British fiduciary money. Lord Harington was to mint 100,000 pounds of copper pieces weighing six grains each, coated with tin to make them look more acceptably silvery. Theoretically, the coins were to have a circulating value £90,400 but would cost only £25,450 to mint. Of the remaining seigniorage of £64,950, under the terms of the patent Harington was to be allowed £25,000 for his "trouble," and the remaining net profit would go to the king!

But upon his lordship's having expired—not long after receiving this beneficence and initiating a groundbreaking British token coinage—the patent passed to his son. When he too died shortly thereafter, the patent reverted to Lady Anne Harington, from whom it passed to royal relative Ludovic Stuart (1574–1624), second Duke of Lennox—who must have used his close connection to the crown to obtain a renewal of the profitable arrangement—and subsequently to others. Lennox held the additional title Earl of Richmond (granted in 1613), and in 1623 was created Duke of Richmond. Upon his death in 1624, his English titles were extinguished while his Scottish title passed to his brother, Esmé Stuart (or Stewart). Lennox/Richmond's coinage patent passed to his widow, Frances, Duchess of Richmond, and Sir Francis Crane, who then minted a further farthing issue for Charles I upon his accession in 1625 (Fig. 16).

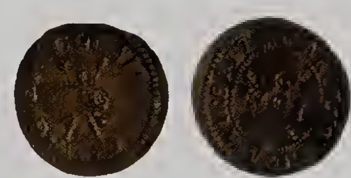


Fig. 16. Great Britain. Charles I (1625–1649). Cu "Richmond 'round'" patent royal farthing token, mm. crescent with mullet; altered Lennox dies, with CARO (for "Carolus," Charles) recut over IACO (for "Jacobus," James) on obv.; Type 1a (1625). Spink 3181; Peck 119. (ANS 1978.9.6, gift of Mrs. R. Henry Norweb) 17 mm. The modification of the king's name enables us to know that the issue was being minted around the time of Charles's accession, in March 1625; the patent held by the Duchess of Richmond and Sir Francis Crane was in fact authorized to continue in effect by royal proclamation of May 30 (Peck 1960, 45).

The lucrative patent continued in force for the Richmond consortium until 1634, when it was reissued to Sir Francis Crane and Henry Howard, Lord Maltravers, whose issues (Fig. 17) can be identified among the latest of the royal farthings before the adoption of the brass-plugged rose farthings (Fig. 18), again issued under the patent and minted well into the Civil War (c. 1645). The farthings became notorious for the chicanery of the patentees and the abundance of

Fig. 17. Great Britain. Charles I (1625–1649). Cu "Maltravers 'round'" patent royal farthing token, mm. bell, with inner beaded circle; Type 3b (1634–1636). Spink 3190; Peck 234 (ANS 1978.9.58, gift of Mrs. R. Henry Norweb) 17.5 mm. The Lennox/Richmond/Maltravers royal farthing tokens were minted in two series, the "ovals" and the "rounds"; without secure foundation, the "ovals" have traditionally been designated as issues intended for Irish circulation.

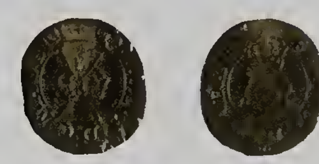


Fig. 18. Great Britain. Charles I (1625–1649). Cu "Rose" patent farthing token, mm. cross pattee/lis, with brass plug; Type 1d (c. 1636; extremely rare; two specimens recorded by Peck). Spink 3204; Peck 317. (ANS 1978.9.106, gift of Mrs. R. Henry Norweb) 14.8 mm.

counterfeits they instigated, but they still seem to have enjoyed significant circulation.

British dealer and researcher Nigel Clark arranged to come to study the fine collection of seventeenth-century farthings donated to the ANS by Mrs. R. Henry Norweb (ANS 1978.9), offering us an occasion to look into these fascinating series. The ANS cabinet also includes numerous specimens from other than the Norweb collection, and altogether, these coins constitute an outstanding assemblage of both royal patent issues and the private tokens that proliferated during the period of the Commonwealth and soon thereafter.

British scholars have pieced together the record of the patent farthing coinages, correlating variants with the different issues and the patents under which they were produced. The issues are variously referred to by the principal contemporaneous title forming part of the current patentholder's name. As the least desirable members of the British royal family of coins, the overvalued farthings

found their way in fair numbers to the New World colonies, as archaeological discoveries and chance finds attest. It is noteworthy to me that the experiment with officially overvalued fiduciary coins did not stop with these farthings; within a couple years of their first appearance, we find the crude but analogous Sommer's Islands "Hog money" tinned copper introduced for British colonial use.

Clark examined the Society's fairly extensive holdings of the issues of Charles I and was able to note a number of interesting specimens. Although not from archaeological contexts, the Norweb coins are generally very handsome examples, and some are documented as having come from important earlier British cabinets.

British Colonial America

ANS Board Member and colonial American researcher Sydney Martin studied specimens in the cabinet in connection with his research for his monumental recently published die study on the eighteenth-century *Hibernia* patent coinage of William Wood. He is now completing an analysis of Wood's patent *Rosa Americana* coinage and ordered pho-

Fig. 19. British colonial North America. George I (1714–1727). AE Rosa Americana penny, 1723. Nelson 15, Breen 121 (ANS 1886.1.1, gift of John Evans) 27 mm.

Fig. 20. British colonial North America. George I (1714–1727). AE Rosa Americana penny, 1723. Nelson 15; Breen 122 (ANS 1956.104.24, gift of Mrs. R. Henry Norweb Sr.) 27 mm.

Fig. 21. British colonial North America. George I (1714–1727). AE Rosa Americana 2 pence, 1723; a nice example with a tin plug, bearing a rose counterstamp. Nelson 14; Breen 88. (ANS 1944.34.1, gift of Henry Grunthal) 31 mm.

tographs of several of the examples in the Society's collection. Although the ANS cabinet holds only a limited collection of the many varieties of Wood's *Hibernia* issues, it has a more representative selection of the *Rosa Americana* pieces (Figs. 19–21).

Counterstamps and Circulation, from Anglo to Latino

Countermarked or counterstamped coins are always of peculiar interest due to their "split personalities"—the double (or triple, or more) lives they have led. Sometimes these indications can be quite confusing, and even the terminology used to describe the markings may be less than transparent. A great deal of scholarly detective work has gone into the interpretation of such impressions (e.g., Howgego 1985; Brunk 2003; Manville 2001). Conventionally in this country, we use the term *counterstamp* to refer to an impression or punch "officially applied to [the surface of] a coin or a segment of a coin to change its value and/or to indicate its acceptance as legal tender . . ." (Doty 1982, 75). This would fit a dictionary definition of stamping something already "stamped," where "counterstamp" is given as a specifically numismatic synonym for "countermark": "an added mark designed to secure greater safety or more complete identification" (as used, for instance, along with a "hallmark" of an artificer applied to objects of gold or silverwork). However, many kinds of added marks appear on coins, marks that may or may not be official revalidations of some sort or indications of specific private purposes. It is often difficult to determine the origin or purpose of specific impressions. Actual silver- or goldsmiths' hallmarks can and do appear on coins, where they are sometimes referred to using both of the other terms, and we have such terminological constructs as "bankers' marks," "chop marks," "shroff marks," "test marks," snicks, pecks, etc. *The World Coin Encyclopedia* does not include the term "counterstamp," though it does include "countermark" and gives a similar definition to the latter word. Hmmm. I had better curtail myself here . . .

From research on a counterstamped (or was it countermarked?) British-American issue, we move to a British-countermarked Spanish-American piece. Eric Hodge, working with Harrington E. Manville, was

Fig. 22. Great Britain: Scotland. Counterfeit AR 4-shilling 9-pence piece, the Thistle Bank (1803–1804); host coin: counterfeit Mexican 8-reales piece of Charles IV, 1799–FM. Manville 45X.b. (ANS 1969.222.4882, gift of P. K. Anderson) 39 mm. "A warning notice of the false dollars with a forged 4/9 stamp appeared in the Glasgow Herald and Advertiser on 20 April 1804" (Manville 2001, 89).

interested in our collection of British countermarked foreign silver coins from the early period of the Industrial Revolution. These are the scarce and interesting "dollars" (usually the host coins were in fact Spanish Colonial American *pesos de á ocho reales*, or "pieces of eight") variously marked by private merchants or manufacturers—coins of which the Society holds quite a nice assortment. One example (Hodge ordered images of it) is a Thistle Bank issue struck on a Mexican "piece of eight" of 1799-F.M.—a die-struck contemporary counterfeit (Fig. 22). Glasgow's Thistle Bank (1761–1836) was the fourth oldest in Scotland and an adventurous entrepreneur in its heyday, but its involvement with countermarking is not known.

Undoubtedly the greatest coin in the ANS collection of the British countermarked series is the United States dollar of 1800 reused by the coal mining firm of John Wilson, in Hurlet, Renfrewshire (Scotland), c. 1816 (Fig. 23). This unique piece from the famous Norweb collection

Fig. 23. Great Britain: Scotland. George III. AR countermarked 5-shilling piece (c. 1805–1815), J. & J. Wilson, Hurlet (Renfrewshire); host coin: U.S. dollar, 1800. Bolender 10; Bowers BB-190; Manville 64a. (ANS 1967.57.1, half gift of Ambassador and Mrs. R. Henry Norweb, half purchase) 39.7 mm.

shares its countermark with four or so other coins—all Spanish Colonial pieces of eight, one of which also features the peculiar small puncture marks that appear on the ANS coin. The U.S. dollar would have been an uneconomical candidate to utilize for payments in this context, since it contained slightly more silver than its Spanish equivalents and would generally have been melted for its bullion content.

These coins are fine examples of the interconnections between coinages of different regions and monetary requirements, which a great collection like that of the ANS affords the opportunity to study in a broad context. Frequent inquiries come to us regarding all sorts of Latin American issues of a more limited nature. Most, of course, are not involved with intercontinental host coins, as readers of past "Current Cabinet Activities" columns will have noticed; rather, they have to do with the vast monetary productions of the actual colonial regions and modern nations of Central and South America.

In just one example of a recent Latin American inquiry, having had difficulties trying to find information about an old coin that had belonged to his grandfather, José Chavez contacted me for help. Typical of the period of *el Presidente* Porfirio Díaz, the item turned out to be a Mexico City centavo issue of 1886, of which some 12,687,000 were minted (Fig. 24). Of course, I referred Chavez to the redoubtable *Standard Catalog of World Coins*. ¡Olé! Such Mexican

Fig. 24. Mexico: Republic. Cu centavo, Mexico City, 1886. KM 391.6 (ANS 0000.999.197) 25.8 mm.

issues are notable for their die varieties, which are not as yet well represented in the ANS cabinet.

As is widely known, the Society holds a remarkably fine collection of Latin American coins of all kinds, but it still lacks a great many issues, so inquiries from potential donors are always welcome. The same is true regarding our other Latin American collections of medals, tokens, paper money, and related items. But on the other hand, we receive inquiries from individuals seeking to build their own collections as well, such as Scott Horstmeier, who sought advice for finding a modern Uruguayan 1000-peso piece, and we are pleased to try to help them, too.

Indian Peace Medals, Once Again

A number of great early peace medals in the cabinet were obtained through purchase by subscription in the 1925 Wayte Raymond sale of the marvelous collection formed by Canadian W. W. C. Wilson. We have reviewed some of them before in this column, and indeed orders for photographs of them continue to come in, such as a recent one from Sandi Rygiel, of Picture Research Consultants, and Adrianne Hiltz, of Bedford/St. Martin's, publishers. This was for the "Happy While United" 1766 medal of George III (ANS 1925.173.1, the gift of William H. Perkins, R. W. DeForest and James B. Ford), requested for publication use in an edition of the American history college textbook *The American Promise* (See *ANS Magazine*, "Current Cabinet Activities" [Spring 2006]: fig. 50).

The splendid assortment of the ever-popular American Indian Peace medals in the ANS cabinet routinely draws repeated inquiries and requests for images and information, as we have noted. And few fields of American numismatics have been beset by such large numbers of forgeries, fantasies, copies, or restrikes. These problematic pieces clearly demonstrate the interest and desirability of the series—if not the public's understanding of the medals.

Recently, I received a couple of separate inquiries about examples of the odd item known as the "Treaty of

Fig. 25. United States. George Washington "Treaty of Greenville" AR Indian Peace medal, 1795 (cast copy of engraved original). Belden 11; Prucha 36. (ANS 1988.148.1, gift of Andrew Stednitz) 76 x 99 mm.

Greenville medal." There is, in the collection of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, a hand-engraved silver oval medal, similar in style and fabric to President George Washington's silver oval Indian Peace medals, which bears a reference to the well-known agreement with the Ohio Valley Indians enacted by the United States government on August 3, 1795 (Fig. 25). The Pennsylvania Historical Society's piece was purchased in the nineteenth century from the granddaughter of a Wyandot chief called The Crane, who had been one of the signatories of the treaty. This specimen has been illustrated by Belden and Prucha and, as a mysterious item for which there is no known documentation, has entered the realm of folklore and been repeatedly "copied" by enterprising "enthusiasts."

A good and typical example of the work of modern forgers is the specimen (ANS 1988.148.1) in the Society's cabinet. As is the case with many of the examples of the false silver oval George Washington Peace medals, it is possible to discern that the "engraving" lines composing the design elements and inscriptions of the pieces have not actually been cut by a skilled engraver with a burin—such as Joseph Richardson Jr., who is known to have produced all the 1795-dated Washington oval medals—but are instead the recesses left by the low raised lines on molds for relatively fine-quality castings. A good indication of the medal's spurious nature is that it portrays the same image on boh sides.

A Valedictory Invitation

One hundred and fifty years of collecting and researching numismatic materials and providing its collections and informational services for the benefit of the public has made the ANS the leader in building and disseminating knowledge in this aspect of civilization. The Society's motto is *Parva ne pereant* ("May the little things not perish"), and to the role of fulfilling this mission the staff is dedicated. May the next hundred and fifty years witness the same and even greater progress in preserving, presenting, and interpreting these small time-traveling objects.

This year, the Society is moving its facilities and renewing its commitment to our fascinating and illuminating field. Our present home in the former bank building at the corner of William and Fulton streets is closing down as we prepare, pack, and move to our new location at Hudson Square. For a time, due to the move, our curatorial cabinet activities will be somewhat circumscribed, but members may rest assured that this work will proceed as before and flourish. Come autumn, we invite everyone to make an appointment to visit the famous ANS cabinet, a great part of our nation's and the world's treasury—both of money and of the mind. ANSM

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Richard McAlee. *The Coins of Roman Antioch*. Lancaster, Penn./London: Classical Numismatic Group, Ltd., 2007. Hb., 407 pp., b/w illustrations throughout. ISBN 0-9709268-9-8. $150.00.

The publication of *The Coins of Roman Antioch* will almost certainly be a great boon to students of the Syrian capital and its coinage during the Roman period, as it represents the first time that all of the silver and *aes* coins produced in or for Antioch have been catalogued together. Previously, it was necessary to consult a variety of different catalogues (e.g., K. Butcher, *The Coinage of Roman Syria*; M. and K. Prieur, *A Type Corpus of the Syro-Phoenician Tetradrachms*; *RPC* 1 and 2 with *RPC Online* [http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk]) in order to study the full range of Antiochene civic and provincial coins in all metals, but thanks to Richard McAlee we now have recourse to a single type corpus with exceptional plates.

This new comprehensive catalogue, which lists some 1,195 distinct silver and *aes* types, even goes so far as to include the fourth-century civic-type coinage of Maximinus Daza, despite the fact that by this time Antioch no longer operated as a provincial mint but rather as an imperial facility fully integrated into the Roman mint system. Some may argue that the latter do not properly belong here, making the point that if they are considered Antiochene in the same sense that the earlier tetradrachms and civic and SC bronzes are, then the Roman denominations struck at Antioch ought also to be included. Regardless, the fact that McAlee has included these late issues highlights important questions about the provincial/imperial dichotomy in Roman numismatics. For example, if imperial mints struck coinage for provincial use, as in the case of Maximinus's coins and a number of the earlier silver/billon and orichalcum issues associated

with Antioch, and if provincial mints like Antioch before AD 240 could strike imperial denominations like the aureus, denarius, and the antoninianus when necessary, the provincial/imperial classification seems to lose much of its meaning (for a recent look at this issue, see A. Burnett, "The Roman West and the Roman East," in *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, ed. C. Howgego, V. Heuchert, and A. Burnett, 171–173 [2004]). The involvement of imperial mints to produce provincial coinage with local types also makes one wonder to what degree provincial symbolic identity may have been manufactured by Rome along with the coins (see below with respect to Trajan's Roman silver struck for Syria).

Both the Syrian specialist and the neophyte will find the catalogue to be a dream come true. McAlee has described each type in painstaking detail (even down to the number and placement of dots, or pellets), which the author believes may have been a type of officina mark (for the pre-Roman use of pellets at Antioch, see O. Hoover, "Appendix 6. Pellets on Seleucid Coins," in A. Houghton, C. Lorber, and O. Hoover, *Seleucid Coins, Part II* [2008], 2:231–236). Corrections to descriptions and date readings in earlier literature abound, as do several new attributions. These include the identification of an extremely rare OMONOIA CEBACT□N type as an issue in the name of Lucius Verus (no. 622A), thereby making it a companion piece to a similar issue of Marcus Aurelius (no. 602A), and the assurance that civic bronze no. 123 really is an Antiochene issue of year 145 (AD 123/4) and is not misread or an issue of another city (*contra* Butcher, op. cit., 359). We agree that the date seems very clear in the cast illustrated in McAlee's plate. The remarkable revelation is also made that asses, semisses, and civic coins struck at Antioch under Antoninus Pius in AD 145–147 had their weights reduced because they were produced in orichalcum (this metal is normally associated with coins struck in Rome for Syria). The identification of the metal rests on unpublished X-ray spectroscopy results, which we hope will be presented in print.

A few items in the catalogue require correction. A metrological study of surviving specimens of the posthumous Philip tetradrachm no. 0 [*sic*] now shows that this issue is not likely to date as early as the later 60s BC. It is probably the initial celebratory issue produced to commemorate Julius Caesar's grant of autonomy to the city in 49/8 BC (see *Seleucid Coins, Part II*, no. 2490). Likewise, the double-headed bronze coin no. 169A listed as a civic issue of the late second to early third century AD does not belong here. It is actually an unpublished Seleucid type of Antiochus II or III from Lydia that has been appearing in Internet sales since at least late 2007. It should also be noted that the portrait of Trajan on the small orichalcum SC coin no. 525 is almost certainly draped as no. 526, thereby making it a superfluous entry.

Those interested in the silver and billon coinages attributed to Antioch

or apparently produced in Alexandria or Rome for Syrian use will find McAlee's detailed discussion of the problems related to their attribution very useful, even though his tendency to remove issues from Antioch to other Syro-Phoenician mints is not always convincing. The case (following Henri Seyrig) for removing the enthroned Zeus tetradrachms of Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius (nos. 212–213, 228, and 230–242) from Antioch to Tarsus on the basis of style is very compelling and difficult to refute in light of the excellent comparative illustrations provided. Likewise, the reattribution of Elagabalus's billon tetradrachms to Laodicea ad Mare (following Butcher) seems quite likely to be correct, although the author also offers Emesa as a less-convincing third possibility. On the other hand, the attribution changes for many of the first- and early second-century silver and billon series remain problematic.

For example, based on differences of style and epigraphy, the author advances a modified version of Colin Kraay's multiple mint thesis ("Notes on the Early Imperial Tetradrachms of Syria," *Revue Numismatique* [1965]: 58–68) by placing only *RPC* 2 Groups 1–3 at the Syrian capital and dividing the remaining five groups between four mints (Tripolis [?], Aradus [?], Judaea Capta, and Tyre). While the attribution of *RPC* 2 Group 6 to Judaea Capta is generally accepted, the treatment of the eagle and palm branch of the reverse type as well as shared letter forms and the use of ETOYC rather than ETOYC NEOY IEPOY make it almost certain that the supposed Aradian (?) and Tripolis (?) issues come from the same mint, regardless of the presence or absence of the crescent symbol. This facility can only be Antioch since, as *RPC* 1 points out, the related issues of Galba given to Aradus (?) and Tripolis (?) (nos. 308–310) must come from this city. The heavy-jowled portrait of Galba is very similar to that found on his legate and SC issues, which have an undisputed Antiochene origin. If all of these coins belong to Antioch, then so must the tetradrachms of Otho given to Aradus (?) and Tripolis (?) (nos. 315–316), as they employ eagles of virtually identical style to those on Galba's tetradrachms. The Tyrian attribution of *RPC* 2 Groups 8 and 9 under Vespasian is also less than compelling, since the eagle with club type is not necessarily evidence for production at Tyre (see below). The Phoenician city also regularly used its autonomous era, rather than a Caesarean era, to date its coins and preferred the four-bar sigma and cursive omega during the Flavian period (cf. *RPC* 2, pp. 294–295). None of these features appear on the tetradrachms in question.

The use of variant letter forms as good evidence for production at facilities other than Antioch largely evaporates when the inscriptions on contemporary *aes* issues are also considered. For example, McAlee is tempted to attribute Nero's and Galba's eagle with wreath on wreath types of year 116 (AD 67/8) to Tripolis (?) and Aradus (?) in part on the basis of the lunate sigmas and epsilons that appear in the legends. However, when we look at the civic and provincial *aes* coinage, which is certainly Antiochene, it becomes clear that the die engravers of Antioch were beginning to introduce these cursive forms in year 115 (cf. nos. 112–114,

291–294A). Nerva's tetradrachms and *aes* of year 1 (AD 97/6) show that the four-bar sigma and straight epsilon were the preferred forms during his brief reign, although the silver may have been struck at Alexandria. On the other hand, angular and cursive forms occur simultaneously on contemporary Antiochene tetradrachm issues of Vespasian, which is a little odd. Unfortunately, all of this emperor's *aes* coinage bears Latin inscriptions, thereby making it impossible to compare Greek letter forms between metals.

Even if we could accept the proposed mint reattributions for the Neronian, Civil War, and Flavian tetradrachms, the indisputable use of reverse types featuring an eagle on thunderbolt and eagle on club at Antioch makes it difficult to accept the author's removal of some issues of Trajan and Hadrian to Tyre without great reservation. There are no obvious reasons why the eagle on club types of these rulers (nos. 437–449 and 529–530) should not have been struck at Antioch, especially when the Trajanic series shares obverse dies with a series featuring the Tyche of Antioch on the reverse. If the eagle on club had lost its meaning as a distinctly Tyrian type and become the symbol of good money, as the author and Butcher have convincingly suggested, then there is also room to doubt the specifically Tyrian quality of the Heracles-Melqart type (originally paired with the eagle on autonomous silver of Tyre) used for some issues of Trajan. It is perhaps no accident that Heracles-Melqart appears on tetradrachms thought to have been struck not in Syria or Phoenicia but at Rome and Alexandria for use in Syria. The inclusion of this god in a tridrachm series apparently struck at Rome, which also features Zeus-Hadad and Roma, may imply that the Heracles-Melqart type was understood as broadly "Syrian" rather than narrowly Tyrian (for a similar view, see Butcher, op. cit., 83). Although the author argues for Zeus-Hadad as a particularly Tyrian deity, the association of his tridrachm type with a didrachm depicting his consort Atargatis (McAlee makes her Ba'alat-Astarte), the *Dea Syria*, tends to suggest that the coin typology of the small silver was also intended to have a generally provincial Syrian flavor.

Despite our difficulties in accepting many of the revised mint allocations for the silver and billon coinages in the first and early second centuries, the retention of so many tetradrachm series with differing reverse symbols at Antioch (*RPC* and Butcher) is also rather discomforting. The form of the coinage with ruler portrait on the obverse and an eagle and palm branch reverse often including other attributes (thunderbolt, club, animal thigh, etc.) ultimately derives from the late Seleucid silver coinage produced for Phoenicia and Coele Syria. On the Seleucid series (modeled after a Ptolemaic prototype), the region (Phoenicia) was indicated by the palm branch, while the symbols identified the mint of issue (i.e., ship's ram at Tyre, trident at Berytus, etc.). (It is interesting to note that while the model for the reverse is drawn from the earlier Seleucid coinage, the obverse type of the emperor wearing

an aegis seems to be drawn from the regular Ptolemaic coinage depicting Ptolemy I Soter with the same attribute. This may imply the early influence of the Alexandrian mint in the development of the typology.) Following this pattern, one might reasonably expect the attributes on the Roman provincial tetradrachms to consistently serve as mint identifiers, but this seems not to be the case.

Before leaving the tetradrachms, it is also worth mentioning McAlee's suggestion that the COS II issues of Gordian III with ram and crescent symbol were not produced at Antioch, but by a mobile military mint, possibly because the Syrian capital had briefly fallen to the Sasanian Persians. This is an interesting idea, but unfortunately the evidence for a Persian occupation is very slight, while the association of the ram and crescent with Antioch is very strong. The ram and crescent (without star) served as the reverse type for the last known emission of Antiochene civic coins in AD 177/8 (no. 166).

The treatment of the *aes* coinage is generally more convincing, especially since the mint attributions are fairly secure for most of the issues. Still, the author's reversion to Michael Grant's identification of the small and large SC bronze denominations as the semis and the as (*The Six Main Aes Coinages of Augustus*, p. 8, n. 4) rather than the as and the dupondius may raise some eyebrows. This is based on the apparent equivalence of the large bronze and large orichalcum issues indicated by a laurel branch countermark and the metrological relationship between the orichalcum as and the large SC bronze denomination. Ultimately, we wonder whether the naming of denominations does not risk unintentional obfuscation. Butcher's use of "small," "medium," and "large" to describe the various civic and provincial denominations seems a much safer methodology in the absence of solid evidence for their ancient names. Nevertheless, McAlee may very well be correct in his understanding of the relationship between bronze and orichalcum issues. His

commentary in the general introduction and the section introductions, which utilize unpublished metrological and metallurgical data, will certainly be required reading for future discussion of the subject.

It is also worth noting that the author has reversed his former view that the letter-numerals found on many *aes* issues of Antioch represent sequence marks. An expanding obverse die break on two asses of Antoninus Pius with different letter-numerals makes the idea of sequence marks untenable. McAlee now makes a case for understanding them as potential officina marks. Although this view is rejected by the authors of *RPC* 1 on the basis that there would be too many, comparison with the numbers of officinae known for Antioch as an imperial mint and the frequent sharing of some letter numerals between civic and provincial issues make the officina theory seem much less implausible. Still, the supposed use of K to indicate the eleventh officina (when it would normally indicate the twentieth) is a little difficult to accept. The idea that the anomalous double-digit letter-numerals on some issues of Trajan and Hadrian represent units of two consolidated officinae is ingenious if somewhat speculative. If the anomalous letter-numerals do represent consolidated officinae, the question remains open as to why such consolidation was necessary only for a late as series of Trajan (nos. 492–497) and an as and hemichalkon (?) series of Hadrian (nos. 536 and 543). Although we have no civic issues of Trajan for comparison, it is a little curious that all of Hadrian's civic and provincial *aes* appears to have been struck by three unremarkable officinae (A, B, and □).

The high quality of the *aes* commentary is occasionally marred by peculiar claims, such as the idea that the attribute carried by Tyche on certain preimperial and civic silver and bronze issues (nos. 29, 74–77, 93–94) might represent an inverted anchor, harking back to Seleucid iconography, rather than her normal tiller attribute. Likewise, the author succumbs to the extreme Cleopatraphilia popularized by Matthew Kreuzer (see O. Hoover, review of M. Kreuzer, *The Coinage System of Cleopatra VII and Augustus in Cyprus*, *ANS*

Magazine [Winter 2005]: 68–71) when he suggests that certain countermarks found on preimperial civic bronzes and normally considered to bear the head of Apollo actually depict Cleopatra VII. As the known Antioch host coins end in Caesarean year 8 (42/1 BC), it is hardly a foregone conclusion that the countermarking episode should be associated with Antony's grant of lands to Cleopatra in 37/6 BC. Furthermore, the head on the countermark lacks any features that can clearly identify it as that of the last Ptolemaic queen. The former lacks the typical "melon" hairstyle or the prominent diadem normally worn by Cleopatra on her coins. Instead, the hairstyle and drapery at the neck on the countermark head have much more in common with the Apollo type that began to appear on Antiochene civic coinage in AD 55/6 (nos. 104–105). In light of the evidence, the traditional identification of the countermark as Apollo seems much more credible than its identification as Cleopatra.

In a similar vein, the author endorses the view that the K-A and palm branch that appear on some SC issues of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (nos. 598, 599, 615) refer to the restoration of the city's Capitolian games after a period of punishment by Marcus Aurelius. This interpretation is very dubious, since there is no secure evidence that the games of Antioch had Capitolian status, and John Malalas reports that Commodus only restored the city's Olympic games in AD 181. The palm branch seems to be a form of control symbol, for it appears without the accompanying K-A on no. 616 and in the same position as the stars on no. 613. It may not be entirely irrelevant to point out that stars and palm branches had been popular control symbols on late Seleucid, autonomous, and preimperial bronze coins of Antioch. Stars also appear frequently on Antioch's SC issues throughout the Roman period. The reappearance of K-A on SC coins of Elagabalus (nos. 796–798) would seem to make the supposed association of these letters with the lifting of Aurelius's sanctions against the city untenable. Since they appear in the same position as -E (apparently referring to the four eparchies of Syria) on other issues of Elagabalus, one wonders whether there might not really be something to the suggestion that K-A refers to Antioch as the first and most beautiful city vis-à-vis the other cities of the Syrian eparchies.

The black-and-white plates and other illustrations liberally sprinkled through the main text are exemplary in quality and detail, making them an indispensable resource for the serious study of the coinage of Antioch. The plates are laid out on pages facing the catalogue text in *sylloge* style and illustrate almost all of the basic types listed in the catalogue as well as many variants. As an aid to understanding the civic and provincial issues of Antioch in context with the imperial coins struck by the city and other coinages of the region, these issues are also frequently illustrated. Especially notable is the illustration of all the basic types of Trajan's silver coinage struck for Arabia and the Emesan tetradrachms of Uranius Antoninus (Figs. 21, 34). Our only complaint is that the plated coins are arranged in columns rather than in rows from left to right. This arrangement appears to have been made in order to save space or to vaguely mirror the two-column format of the cat-

alogue, but it takes some time for the reader to get accustomed to it.

A useful appendix listing the countermarks known from Antiochene bronze and orichalcum issues of the imperial period is also included, along with a concordance to Butcher's *Coinage in Roman Syria*. An addenda section lists sixteen variants of types in the main catalogue and five new varieties mainly drawn from recent Internet sales.

Despite our doubts about many of the revised mint attributions for the silver and billon coinage and our quibbles with the interpretation of some features of the *aes* coinage, there can be no question that *The Coins of Roman Antioch* represents an important new resource for the study of the city's coinage. It will certainly provide a solid foundation for the future numismatic study of the Syrian capital and be a welcome addition to the shelf of any student of Antiochene and Near Eastern coinage during the Roman period.

—*Oliver D. Hoover*

P.A. van't Haaff. *Catalogue of Elymaean Coinage, ca. 147 BC–AD 228*. Lancaster, Penn. / London, 2007. Hb., 167 pp., b/w illus throughout. $75.00. ISBN 978-0-9709268-8-3.

Despite the fame of its capital Susa (biblical "Shushan the Palace") in the Achaemenid period and the importance of its mint under the Seleucid dynasty, the history and numismatics of Elymaïs in the post-Seleucid period is obscure and poorly studied. The

last time that any attempt was made to compose a full type corpus for the coins of the native Kamnaskirid and Arsacid rulers of Elymaïs was J. de Morgan's *Numismatique de la perse antique*, published in 1930. In the seventy-seven years that have intervened, many new discoveries—including coins of new kings in both dynasties—and new attempts to make sense of the numismatic evidence have been made. Thankfully, P. A. van't Haaff has now provided us with a new *Catalogue of Elymaean Coinage*, which brings together the new and old material in one place.

There is very little surviving evidence for the history of the Elymaean kings except for fragments from a few Greek and Roman authors, brief mentions in cuneiform documents of the Parthian period, and the coins themselves. Thus it is not surprising that the bulk of the text is taken up with the discussion of chronological issues, which plague the issues of the early Kamnaskirid and the entire Arsacid dynasties of Elymaïs. Van't Haaff is very much aware of the recent chronologies of G. R. F. Assar ("History and Coinage of Elymaïs During 150/149122/121 BC," *Name-ye Iran-e Bastan* 4, no. 2 [2004–2005]: 27–91) and Daniel T. Potts (*The Archaeology of Elam* [Cambridge, 1999]) and generally follows them in the catalogue. However, he prefers to date Okkonapses' silver and bronze coinage to 139 BC, after the reign of Kamnaskires Nikephoros, rather than to c. 144/3 BC, before his reign. This seems odd for the stylistic and political reasons that Assar has already pointed out. We would also add that the placement of Okkonapses' coinage before that of Kamnaskires Nikephoros (regardless of whether one accepts him as Kamnaskires II, as does van't Haaff, or as the same person as Kamnaskires I Soter, as does Assar) has the advantage of allowing for unbroken continuity between related bronze types of Kamnaskires Nikephoros (types 2.7, 2.9–2.10) and Tigraios (types 5.5–5.6). The author also dates the usurper Dareios to before 129 BC, despite Assar's strong historical case against his rise to power while the Seleucid forces of Antiochus VII still held Elymaïs.

Somewhat more peculiar than these chronological divergences is the inclusion of tetradrachms and

bronzes of the Parthian ruler Phraates II. These were once thought to have been issued while Phraates served as viceroy of Mithradates I at Susa (c. 139–138 BC), but this view has long been abandoned by Parthian specialists. Contemporary cuneiform records from Babylonia have shown that Phraates II ascended the throne in 132 BC as a minor in association with his mother (G. Del Monte, *Testi dalla Babilonia Ellenistica I: Testi Cronografici* [Pisa, 1997], 245). He would, therefore, have been about seven years old in 139 BC and could not have served as Arsacid viceroy in Susa. Nevertheless, van't Haaff seems to accept the viceroy thesis in his historical introduction. He says that the Phraates II issues have been included in the catalogue "for reasons of continuity, and as an illustration of the fluid political situation in the region" (4). In this case, we wonder why the other Parthian coins of Susa are not also listed. It is also unclear why a unique bronze coin from the French excavations at Susa depicting a ruler portrait and an elephant has been excluded from the main bronze series of Kamnaskires Nikephoros. What remains of the lower inscription clearly reads [KA]MNIΣ[KIPOY.

The chronology of the later Kamnaskirid rulers is less controversial, since these kings normally dated their coins. The author is probably right to argue against Robert Senior's reading of the offstruck Seleucid era date ΘΛΣ (74/3 BC) on a tetradrachm attributed to Kamnaskires V (type 9.1–1) and the associated claim that Kamnaskires III, IV, and V are in fact the same person (R. Senior, "Notes on a Few Ancient Coins," *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter* 155 [1998]: 18). The portrait style and the use of monogram 18 below the chin seems to closely link the coin to the other Kamnaskires V issues, none of which dates earlier than 48/7 BC. However, it is very difficult to read the ΘΝΣ (53/2 BC) date that van't Haaf proposes. It may actually be ΖΟΣ (36/5 BC).

For the chronology of the Arsacid dynasty, the author essentially accepts the arrangement proposed by R. E. Vardanian ("Elimaidiskie mon-

ety: k khronologischeskoaei sistematizaetisii bronzorykh emissiaei II v.n.e.," *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* 176, no. 1 [1986]: 99–117), with a few modifications. While we agree that this makes more sense than Benjamin Bell's early arrangement ("A New Model for Elymaean Royal Chronology," *The Celator* 16, no. 5 [May 2002]: 34–39, 50, 59), it is not at all clear that all of van't Haaff's bronze types 10.1–10.4 imitating the silver and billon issues of Kamnaskires V are necessarily related to the Arsacids of Elymaïs or as early as the late first century BC–early second century AD periodization given in the catalogue. For example, the bronze tetradrachms and drachms of type 10.1, all of which feature obverse and reverse busts of decent style, are barely distinguishable from the more corrupt late issues of Kamnaskires V (i.e., type 9.1.1–7g-i). This, combined with the fact that the corrupt legends of type 10.1 still clearly attempt to name a king Kamnaskires, raise the possibility that they might actually belong to the end of the Kamnaskirid rather than the beginning of the Arsacid coinage. The issues with schematic reverse bust (types 10.2–10.4.2-2B) are closely related to the type used for the bronze tetradrachms of Orodes I (Vardanian's "Unknown King"). This could potentially make them the earliest Arsacid issues, but since they appear to be crude imitations of Kamnaskires V without features to distinguish them as Arsacid, there is no way to be certain about their proper dynastic categorization. Conversely, van't Haaff's type 10.4.2-4 bronze drachms, which feature a reverse composed entirely of dashes, look like they could be related to certain drachms of the Arsacid Kamnaskires-Orodes (type 12.3). These two series involve dash reverses and also a dot-in-crescent symbol next to the ubiquitous obverse anchor.

Van't Haaff's chronological sequence for the first three Arsacid rulers of Elymaïs (Orodes I, Kamnaskires-Orodes, and Orodes II) seems fairly secure on the basis of types shared between the reigns and the use of Aramaic legends. However, the relationship between these series and the issues of Phraates and Orodes III, which the author makes to follow, is unclear. Suddenly, the coins with Aramaic inscriptions (all with dash reverse) are augmented by coins naming the king in Greek (all with reverse types depicting the figure of Artemis huntress or a bust of Artemis-Nanaia) and several anepigraphic issues. The use of coherent Greek legends on some of these coins makes it tempting to place them earlier in the sequence.

The large tetradrachms of Phraates with schematic Kamnaskirid bust reverse (type 14.8) are very closely related to the issues of Orodes I and Kamnaskires-Orodes, while the anchor on type 14.8.1-1 exhibits a pellet—a feature associated with the "uncertain early Arsacid issues" imitating Kamnaskires V types. It would be tempting to make Phraates precede Orodes I, if not for the fact that he wears a tiara (a feature that first appears under Orodes II), and many

of his Aramaic issues with dash reverses seem more developed than those of Kamnaskires-Orodes. However, some of Phraates' dash reverses (type 14.7, subtypes 1-1A-2-1) do have parallels in Kamnaskires-Orodes' (type 12.1, subtype 1-3B-1-3Db) and the type 13.3 drachms of Orodes II. All of this makes one wonder whether Phraates was not a successor of Orodes II but rather a contemporary (rival?) of that king and his predecessors elsewhere in Elymaïs. The use of Greek and Aramaic legends, as well as Aramaic issues with highly developed dash reverses, makes it fairly certain that Orodes III follows Phraates. It is probable that the Greek and Aramaic issues reflect the use of two different mint facilities. If so, the Greek-inscribed coins probably belong to Susa, since the Artemis-Nanaia with *kalathos* types of Orodes III seem to be related to the cult statue depicted on a unique Susian drachm of Kamnaskires Nikephoros (type 2.2). The Aramaic issues may then have been produced at Seleucia on the Hedyphon.

Van't Haaff divides the coinages of Phraates and Orodes III by three small bronze emissions of Osroes (types 15.1–15.3). These almost certainly depict the Parthian king of that name rather than a local Elymaean ruler (compare the portrait with D. Sellwood, *Introduction to the Coinage of Parthia* [London, 1980], no. 80), as has sometimes been suggested. Their style and lack of the usual Elymaean anchor symbol shows that they are out of place between these two Elymaean monarchs. They are probably regular Parthian issues of this king. Despite their appearance in the French excavations of Susa, it is not impossible that the coins of Osroes were actually struck elsewhere. On the other hand, the portrait of Orodes IV on his type 17.1 drachms, which features flying diadem ends as well as large tufts of hair on top and at the side of the head, looks like it is modeled after the portrait of Osroes.

The attribution of the anepigraphic type 17.2 coins to Orodes IV seems doubtful, as the type 17.1 coins of this ruler feature a left-facing royal bust and a large tuft of hair on top of the head, while type 17.2 carries a facing bust with no tuft. The royal portrait of type 17.2 actually looks much closer to that found on the dash-reverse drachms of Kamnaskires-Orodes (type 12.3), while the form of the anchor behind the head of Artemis-Nanaia (?) on the reverse has affinities to the anchor used on drachms of Orodes III (type 16.3). It is very tempting to reattribute type 17.2 to Kamnaskires-Orodes. If type 17.2 really belongs to Kamnaskires-Orodes, then so must type 17.3, which employs the same facing portrait. This attribution might then allow for the anchor flanked by cornucopias reverse of type 17.3 to serve as the model for the simplified anchor and dash reverse bronzes of Orodes III (type 16.3).

The coins given to Orodes V (type 18.1) are obviously related to the "Orodes IV" type 17.2 drachms that may belong to Kamnaskires-Orodes. They share the same bust of Artemis-Nanaia (?) reverse type, but her depiction on the Orodes V coins are stylistically superior to that of her image on the "Orodes IV" drachms. This suggests that the Orodes V issues precede those of "Orodes IV." On the other hand, the royal portrait of Orodes V type 18.1 is clearly indebted to the portrait on Orodes IV's type 17.1. Both of these types employ a left-facing bearded bust with a pronounced tuft of hair on top and flying diadem ends. However, Orodes V lacks the side tuft of hair so prominent on Orodes IV type 17.1.

Our review of the material shows that the sequence of Arsacid rulers at Elymais may not be as simple as the progression given by van't Haaff. There appear to be three distinct groups, whose precise interrelationship is somewhat unclear:

GROUP 1
Orodes I
|
Kamnaskires-Orodes
|
Orodes II

GROUP 2
Phraates
|
Orodes III

GROUP 3
Osroes
|
Orodes IV (type 17.1)
|
Orodes V
|
"Orodes IV" (type 17.2)

If the Osroes bronzes do indeed refer to the Parthian king of that name, as seems most likely, then the coins of Group 3 must begin during his reign in AD 109–129 and make it probable that the issues of Orodes IV, Orodes V, and "Orodes IV" fill out the remainder of the second and perhaps the early third century AD. If "Orodes IV" is identical with Kamnaskires-Orodes, as we have suggested, then Group 1 must date to the late second and early third centuries. Such a radical redating may be supported by the appearance of portrait types similar to those of Orodes I and Kamnaskires-Orodes on coins of the Parthian king Vologases V (AD 191–208) (Sellwood 86–87). Group 2, with its limited connections to Group 1, may also fall into the late second–early third century.

In addition to the known rulers of Arsacid Elymaïs, van't Haaff also includes the bronze drachm series of

the unnamed Princes A and B (types 19.1 and 20.1). Unfortunately, they and their respective dating are presented without any discussion. The portrait of Prince A shares characteristics with the portraits of the Group 1 kings identified above (i.e., no large tufts of hair at the top of the head and no tiara, but with a small tuft [or diadem ornament?] at the front). On the other hand, the Artemis huntress reverse type also suggests an association with the Group 2 kings. The Prince B portrait, however, involves prominent tufts of hair on top and at the side as well as flying diadem ends. These features all serve to associate the coinage with the Group 3 kings and suggest a date in the second rather than the third century.

The author follows Georges Le Rider's *Suse sous les Seleucides et les Parthes* (Paris, 1965) in attributing the Kamnaskirid coinage to major mints located at Susa and Seleucia on the Hedyphon, respectively, but this is largely based on the interpretation of certain coin symbols as mintmarks, rather than on solid find evidence that could reasonably isolate the circulation patterns of the two cities. It is assumed that Kamnaskirid issues bearing an anchor symbol were produced at Seleucia, while issues with a horse head/protome were struck at Susa, since Seleucus I, the founder of Seleucia, employed the anchor as his personal symbol and horses were associated with Susa. However, this seems somewhat questionable. The anchor never served as a mintmark under the Seleucids, and the earliest appearance of the anchor type on Elymaean coinage is on type 2.4 bronzes of Kamnaskires Nikephoros, which were probably struck at Susa. Likewise, the horse head/protome is far more closely associated with Ecbatana in the Seleucid period than with Susa. In any case, the mintmark thesis seems to be weakened by the fact that dated emissions featuring anchors, horse head/protomes, or lacking symbols entirely never overlap chronologically and sometimes share monograms (cf. monograms 13 and 14 on Kamnaskires IV issues [types 8.1–8.2], attributed to Seleucia on the Hedyphon and to a traveling mint, and monogram 16 on issues [type 8.3], attributed to Susa and to a traveling mint).

The evidence of seal impressions from Seleucia on the Tigris and Uruk tends to suggest that both the anchor and the horse had been used as emblems of Seleucid royal authority regardless of location (cf. T. Doty, "An Official Seal of the Seleucid Period," *JNES* 38 [1979]: 195–197). Since the anchor is used indiscriminately on the coinage of the later Arsacid dynasty of Elymaïs and on a Parthian drachm issue of Orodes I, apparently as the badge of the conquered Elymaean kingdom (p. 16), it seems reasonable to think that it might also have been employed as a royal symbol rather than a mintmark by the preceding Kamnaskirid dynasty. If this interpretation of the anchor is correct, then the horse head/protome that appears on issues of Kamnaskires IV in the same position as the anchor may also have been used as a royal symbol. Presumably, these two emblems reappear on Kamnaskirid and Arsacid issues of Elymaïs as a means of casting the local kings as the legitimate regional successors to the Seleucids.

The understanding of the anchor as a royal symbol qualifying the king's

portrait that it usually accompanies might also make better sense of its occasional obliteration with a Nike countermark on coins of Kamnaskires III and IV. The Nike countermark also serves to qualify the portraits, as she carries a wreath in her outstretched hand to crown the image of the king. It may be no accident that the countermarks, which appear to have been applied ca. 67/6–63/2 BC, are contemporary with bronze coins of the Parthian king Phraates III, which show him crowned by Nike from behind (Sellwood nos. 36.19–20).

In addition to questions of chronology and mint, van't Haaff also touches on iconography, arguing for the use of native names for the various deities depicted on the coinage. This is very welcome, but he is somewhat overzealous in identifying the Apollo and Zeus types of the early Kamnaskirid coinage and the facing bust type of the Arsacid coinage as images of the local Bel. While Zeus almost certainly would have been considered Bel by native Elymaeans, Seleucid Apollo is more likely to have been treated as Shamash or Nabu. The Arsacid facing bust reverse used by Orodes II seems far more likely to be a representation of his father, Kamnaskires-Orodes, who was depicted in a similar manner on his coinage and who is referred to in the Aramaic inscription ("King Orodes, Son of Orodes") on the coins of Orodes II. If this interpretation is correct, then perhaps the small bust reverse used on the coins of Kamnaskires V was intended to depict the grandfather named in the accompanying Greek legend.

It is suggested that the cult statue of Artemis-Nanaia depicted on a unique silver drachm of Kamnaskires II (type 2.2) imitates "certain Seleucid bronzes." Presumably, this cryptic remark refers to the issues of Demetrius II from Nisibis and Seleucia on the Tigris featuring Agathe Tyche (A. Houghton, C. Lorber, and O. Hoover, *Seleucid Coins, Part II: Seleucus IV Through Antiochus XIII* [Lancaster, Penn., 2008], nos. 1978–1980), which might very well have influenced the typology of Kamnaskires' coinage. His bronze coins bearing anchor, tripod, cornucopia, and enthroned Tyche types (types 2.4–6 and 2.10) all appear to be closely modeled on issues of Demetrius II. Indeed, the similarity of Kamnaskires' anchor type to that of Demetrius is so great that specimens of the former have occasionally been mistaken for coins of the latter (i.e., A. Houghton, *Coins of the Seleucid Empire in the Collection of Arthur Houghton* [New York, 1983], no. 1322). This tendency of Kamnaskires II to appropriate the types of Demetrius II may perhaps allude to his support for Demetrius's ill-fated campaign against the Parthians (Justin 36.1.4). Nevertheless, it seems just as possible that the image of Artemis-Nanaia reflects her cult statue at Susa. The bell-shaped skirt, large staring eye, and static pose may be drawn from ancient Mesopotamian and Elamite artistic traditions, although the phiale, ḳalathos headdress, and apparent cornucopia are Greek additions.

The catalogue illustrations are generally good, although for many of the rare coins known primarily from excavation the author has had to rely on scans taken from earlier publications. Thus the image quality varies from coin to coin.

While it is wonderful to finally have a comprehensive type corpus for the rulers of Elymaïs, readers should show due caution in accepting the chronology and iconographic interpretations presented in the *Catalogue of Elymaean Coinage*. P. A. van't Haaff has done a tremendous service to students of the minor dynasties of the post-Seleucid Near East, but as can be seen from the preceding discussion, many thorny problems still remain to be settled before we can truly say that we understand the coinage of Elymaïs.

—*Oliver D. Hoover*

James Graham-Campbell and Gareth Williams, eds. *Silver Economy in the Viking Age*. Walnut Creek, Calif.: Left Coast Press, 2007. Hb., 240 pp., b/w illustrations throughout. ISBN 978-1-59874-222-0. $89.00.

The Vikings have long been an early medieval cultural group in need of an image consultant. In recent decades, they have been cast variously by scholars and in popular culture as either bloodthirsty sea raiders out of a Robert E. Howard novel (a characterization that goes back to the Anglo-Saxon chronicles) or as more restrained international salesmen, traveling the waterways of Europe to reach their clientele. As Susan E. Kruse points out in her contribution to the present volume, these are extreme views that have resulted from the swinging of the pendulum of scholarly opinion. Viking culture(s) and Scandinavian involvement in international trade are far more complex and nuanced than the scholarly and popular stereotypes would suggest. *Silver Economy in the Viking Age*, based on papers presented at a symposium at the Institute of Archaeology (UCL) on May 26–27, 2000, approaches the use of silver from a variety of archaeological, numismatic, metrological, textual, and anthropological angles in order to expand the ongoing dialogue (and in some cases fan the flames of controversy) regarding this facet of the Viking Age.

The collection opens with D. M. Metcalf's "Regions Around the North Sea with a Monetized Economy in the Pre-Viking and Viking Ages," which provides an excellent

overview and interpretation of ninth- and tenth-century coin finds in Anglo-Saxon England. This paper is especially important, as it strongly challenges Henri Pirenne's influential thesis, which argues that the English economy (and that of northwestern Europe in general) was not heavily monetized outside of the great estates and trade centers prior to the eleventh century but was somehow stimulated by the disruption of the Viking incursions. On the contrary, Metcalf makes a good argument for extensive monetization in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and suggests that if anything, the Viking presence severely hampered international trade, leading to a decline in coin production and usage in the tenth century.

Brita Malmer revisits the controversy over the dating and location(s) of minting for early Danish coinage in "South Scandinavian Coinage in the Ninth Century." Here she takes issue with Metcalf's influential view that the eighth-century Wodan/monster sceattas were produced at Ribe rather than in Frisia (see "A Note on Sceattas as a Measure of International Trade, and on the Earliest Danish Coinage," in *Sceattas in England and on the Continent*, ed. D. Hill and D. M. Metcalf [Oxford, 1984]: 159–164) and presents a good case for closely linking the die combination groups KG 3–6 to the Carolingian denier of the 820s. This would make KG 3, minted at Hedeby, the earliest known Scandinavian coin emission. Despite the find evidence, which shows two discrete areas of type circulation in Schleswig-Holstein and southern Jutland, Malmer resists the explicit identification of the mints responsible for Danish coinage in the ninth and tenth centuries as Hedeby and Ribe.

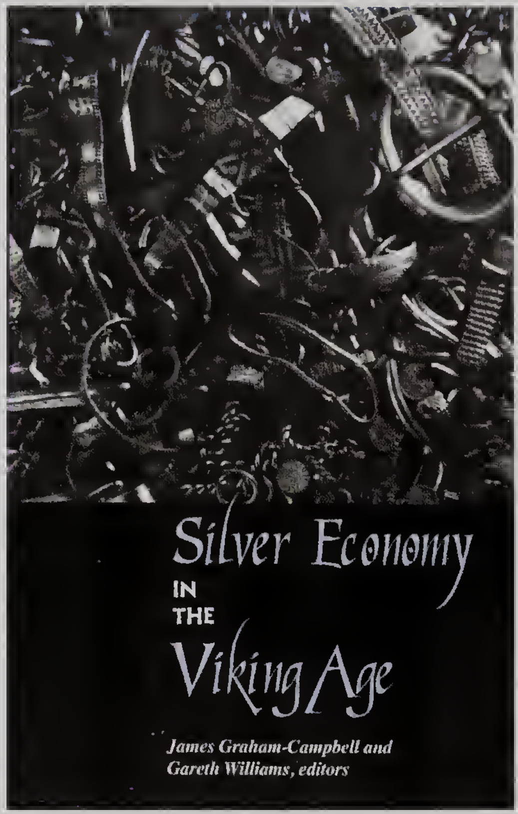
The economic role of the early local coinage and foreign coins in Scandinavia is treated by Ralf Wiechmann in "Hedeby and Its Hinterland: A Local Numismatic Region." The bulk of this article is taken up by a thorough review of the hoard and individual coin finds from the eighth through tenth centuries in Schleswig-Holstein, Angeln, and Schwansen, leading to the conclusion that the coinage of Hedeby was aimed primarily at supporting domestic rather than foreign trade, ultimately bringing an end to the use of hacksilver and greatly reducing the numbers of foreign coin finds around Hedeby in the tenth century.

"The Evidence of Pecking on Coins from the Cuerdale Hoard: Summary Version" by Marion M. Archibald briefly comments on the Viking practice of coin pecking (testing silver quality by observing the resistance of the metal to the blade of a knife). Using the heavily pecked material in the Cuerdale hoard as her study sample, she argues that coin pecking was used to check the metal quality of unfamiliar or suspicious coin types. As pecking only occurs later in Scandinavia but is well known from Viking Dublin already in c. 830, it is suggested that the practice developed there and was brought to non-coin-producing areas of England and Scandinavia by individuals with Hiberno-Norse connections.

Mark Blackburn puts Anglo-Saxon silver into the larger framework of precious metal use and exchange in the Viking Age by discussing "Gold in England During the 'Age of Silver' (Eighth–Eleventh Centuries)." In this masterful paper, the author uses the copious documentary evidence and the extremely limited numismatic material to convincingly argue that the late eighth and ninth centuries saw considerable use of gold coins as a special-purpose currency despite the transition to silver-dominated economies throughout Western Europe. Based on the admittedly slim evidence of eight surviving Anglo-Saxon mancuses, Blackburn

posits three phases in the development of early medieval English gold coin production. In an early phase, the coins were struck with the designs and names of the moneyers alone, without reference to the king, but a ninth-century reform of Cenwulf (?) replaced these private types with royal ones related but not identical to the penny. In a third phase (tenth and eleventh centuries), gold mancuses were struck with regular penny dies. All of this leads the author to conclude that the coins were probably produced on the basis of private need for gold coin to complete particular types of exchange and that anyone with gold could have commissioned a moneyer to strike mancuses. The importance of private need and enterprise to the system envisioned here is very interesting, not least because it mirrors the later practice of the early modern mints of the Tower of London and colonial Massachusetts, which routinely struck coins for individuals who brought in their own bullion for the purpose. The paper concludes with three useful appendices devoted to British finds of gold coins, an inventory of English gold coins with meaningful inscriptions, and an inventory of gold ingots and hack-gold with English find contexts.

In "A Survey of Coin Production and Currency in Normandy, 864–945," Jens Christian Moesgaard attempts to clarify the chronology of the *types immobilisés* struck in Normandy in the decades preceding and following the ceding of the region by Charles the Simple to the Viking chief Rollo in 911/12, in order to assess the influence of Viking rule on coinage and currency. Based on the evidence presented, he concludes that the Vikings had little effect on the preexisting currency system(s) of Normandy, as they failed to introduce a Scandinavian-style bullion economy and continued the regional prac-



tice of striking *types immobilisés*, although in time the coinage circulation becomes increasingly regionalized. Real innovation only comes with the signed Rouen deniers of William Longsword in c. 930/40, which Moesgaard convincingly divorces from supposed Anglo-Saxon prototypes.

The three papers that follow deal with Viking Age silver hoards from Scandinavia, northwestern Russia, and Ireland as evidence for the commercial and status/display economies of the period. In "Viking Economies: Evidence from the Silver Hoards," Märit Gaimster identifies four types of media (coins, bars and ingots, hack-silver, and ornaments) in Viking Age silver hoards from Denmark and Öland and uses the frequency of their occurrence in relation to each other to illustrate a primarily social, rather than economic, function for arm- and neck-rings. Hack-silver and ingots appear primarily in the more complex "commercial" hoards, whereas the rings were mostly hoarded separately from other media. Gaimster's comparison of the find material also shows some minor regional differences in the hoarding of ingots and hack-silver.

A similar approach is taken by John Sheehan in "Form and Structure of Viking Age Silver Hoards: The Evidence from Ireland," in which he presents his detailed classification system for non-numismatic elements in Irish silver hoards, embracing five major classes and twelve subdivisions (but excluding coins). Although it is true that the five hoard classes have "reasonably discrete distributional patterns" when plotted on a map, it is less clear that the distribution reflects different economies or that the distinction between commercially "passive," "potential," and "active" hoard classes is necessarily accurate. Concentrations of all five hoard classes in central western Ireland also coincide with concentrations of coin hoards, which may be suggestive of similar economic functions. Likewise, there is no way to be absolutely certain that the complete ornaments (class 1) were hoarded for different reasons than the commercially "active" hoards containing hack-silver. When complete ornaments appear in hoards with complete ingots, Sheehan rightly considers them to be commercially "potentially active." Surely the ornaments also had this potential when hoarded on their own. If it is agreed that the ornament hoards have this same "potentially active" quality, the distinction between the status/display economy that they are normally considered to represent and the bullion economy at large becomes somewhat fuzzier.

In contrast to the tendency of Gaimster's and Sheehan's contributions to emphasize the differences between apparently distinct silver economies, Birgitta Hårdh's "Oriental-Scandinavian Contacts on the Volga, as Manifested by Silver Rings and Weight Systems" offers compelling evidence that at least one

class of ornament ("Permian" silver rings) occasionally found in Scandinavia was produced to a particular weight standard and therefore was intended to function within the bullion economy, if not to circulate after the manner of coins. The metrological evidence is very strong for interpreting these northern Russian rings as a form of money in large units used for large-scale trade, but one wonders whether the weight system of the "Permian" rings was consciously derived from the 1/8 fraction (*grivna*) of the Old Russian pound, which was also equivalent to twenty Arabic dirhams, or whether the standard of the rings might have been imposed by the use of Arabic dirhams to make them. Although Ibn Fadlan's account of Rus's traders melting down specific sums of dirhams (10,000!) to make neck rings is used as evidence in the contributions by both Gareth Williams and James Graham-Campbell, it is a little surprising that Hårdh has not fully factored it in to her discussion.

If such a practice lies behind the adjusted weights of the "Permian" rings, it might also help to explain the metrological variances in Scandinavian rings. Indiscriminate use of pennies, deniers, and dirhams, or a failure to make sure that all coins of a particular denomination were full weight at the time of melting, could account for wide weight differences. Thus, for example, it would have been possible for two rings to be made with the identical value of one hundred deniers or fifty dirhams in coin but have very different weights. This would tend to further blur the distinction between silver monetary, bullion, and status/display economies, as the rings would then become a more attractive and efficient equivalent to a large purse of coins for important transactions. (For the related situation of coins converted to objects for use in the status/display economy of Greek temples, and which could be converted back to coin when necessary, see A. Bresson, *La cité marchand* (Bordeaux, 2000), 212–240.)

Moving on from the hoarding phenomena, Susan E. Kruse comments on "Trade and Exchange Across Frontiers" in relation to the economic activities of the Vikings. In contrast to the tendency of past scholarship to deny or overemphasize Scandinavian engagement in neutral (i.e., market) exchange with other cultural groups, the author argues that the limited documentary and archaeological evidence virtually guarantees their involvement in such activity. As a corollary to the evidence adduced in favor of Viking neutral exchange across frontiers, the author discusses the serious difficulties that must have beset Scandinavian traders in foreign lands if trade was not primarily based on barter. She is rightly suspicious of proposed common Scandinavian weight standards, since the metrology of excavated weight sets is incompatible internally and between sets, and the political centralization required for weight standardization was largely absent from Scandinavia until the close of the Viking Age. On the other hand, if Viking weights were largely produced and used to check that objects made to foreign standards were full weight, there is no need to expect compatibility between weights in a set or between sets. A later parallel for this might be found in the merchant weight sets of early modern Europe, which routinely included weights for foreign denominations. This seems somewhat more plausible than assuming that the known Viking weights represent some broad or regional Scandinavian standard(s) that were poorly replicated in the weights.

Gareth Williams's "Kingship, Christianity, and Coinage: Monetary and Political Perspectives on the Silver Economy in the Viking Age" builds on Kruse's point about the relationship between controlled weight standards and centralized government, arguing that the development of Viking coinage hinged on the desire of Scandinavian kings to emulate contemporary Frankish and Anglo-Saxon monarchs rather than the needs of the economy. The case for a correlation between Scandinavian coin production and the adoption of Western European Christian modes of rule by Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish kings is quite compelling. The author even shows a relationship between gaps in coinage and periods of pagan reaction or rule by earls rather than kings.

However, we are still left with some reservations about the degree to which the political function of the coinage should be privileged over its economic function. For example, despite Williams's well-taken point that Hedeby was a firmly royal foundation of the Danish king Godfred, the coins struck at that trade emporium in the ninth and tenth centuries were all anonymous and frequently based on a Carolingian prototype. Surely the adoption of this type was dictated at least as strongly by the needs of trade with the Frankish kingdom as by the desire of the king to appear as an equal to his more southerly royal contemporaries. Likewise, if the anonymous Hedeby issues are understood as reflections of royal power, the author's suggestion that the many anonymous coinages of the Danelaw might have been struck by earls out of deference to the kingly prerogative of being named on the coinage becomes problematic. Williams's use of the Danish coinage of the Christian Norwegian king Magnús the Good (1035–1047) as an example of politically motivated coinage is also debatable. He argues that the king only issued coins in Denmark, but not in Norway,

because the more centralized Western European style of kingship was poorly received by the nobles of Norway but was already well-established in Denmark. However, one might also argue that Denmark also had a longer tradition of coin production and use, and therefore Magnús's Danish coinage reflects a response to the economic needs of Denmark.

The collection concludes with James Graham-Campbell's "Reflections on 'Silver Economy in the Viking Age,' " which provides a summary and occasional critique of the major themes and subjects discussed in the preceding papers. He particularly reflects on the distinctions between display and bullion economies while noting the interconnection between the two. He also tends to champion the simplified classification system of Gainster over that of Sheehan in his reflections on the methodology of studying silver hoards, although he makes the important point that Sheehan's classification system has nevertheless been the source of much fruitful discussion.

The papers in *Silver Economy in the Viking Age* reflect, reduced down to the economic level, the larger fractured view of who the Vikings were as a cultural group. The variety of opinions expressed, areas explored, and controversies engaged in by the authors might have made *Silver Economi*es *in the Viking Age* a more appropriate title for the collection. Although most of the papers raise almost as many new problems as they attempt to solve, it is this very feature that makes the book an extremely important presentation of the state of the question(s) regarding the use of silver in the Viking Age. It certainly offers much material for further exploration.

—Oliver D. Hoover

David B. Hollander. *Money in the Late Roman Republic.* Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 29. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2007. Hb., 190 pp., bibliography, index locorum. ISBN-13: 978-90-04-15649-4. $99.

David Hollander, a 1995 graduate of the ANS Eric P. Newman Graduate Seminar in Numismatics, completed his Ph.D. at Columbia in 2002, and this book is an elaboration of his dissertation. It is an important contribution to the study of the economic history of ancient Rome both for its innovative structure and for the author's comprehensive mining of the written sources for useful references to the subject at hand.

The first few pages lay out the scope of the book, defining "the Late Roman Republic" as the period from the introduction of the denarius in 212 BC to Octavian's victory at Actium in 31 BC, and "money" in the broadest possible terms, as anything that can perform the function of a "medium of exchange, measure of value, unit of account, store of wealth, and means of payment" (2) and "the stock of assets readily available to make transactions" (13). This broad definition of money is an underlying theme of the book, and he takes numismatists to task for viewing money solely in terms of coinage. Hollander points out that the Roman definition of *pecunia* certainly included more than coinage.

Chapter 2 is a brief overview of the coinage of the period. In the section on the silver coinage, Hollander discusses the debate over the validity of Crawford's quantification of mint output, and he concludes that the method is fundamentally sound, at least in relative terms. He also discusses quantification based on hoard evidence, concluding that there was "a massive increase in the supply of Roman silver coinage in the late Republic" (20), but he provides no finer detail. He is apparently unaware of Bernhard Woytek's *Arma et Nummi*, which breaks new ground for the period 49–42 BC. In the discussion of the gold coinage, Hollander concludes, conventionally, that gold only became significant in the Roman coinage system with Caesar's issues of 46 BC. And his treatment of the complexities of the bronze coinage of the period seems, perhaps inevitably for a book of this scope, superficial. He describes some of the prevailing theories but adds little. It is not clear what his statement that "the Romans continued to mint divisors during this period" (26) is intended to mean, and he seems, with one exception, unaware of the important work of Clive Stannard on the massive unofficial bronze coinage of central Italy in the first century BC. One would have liked to see a summing up of all of this prior work in quantitative terms, but this, in itself, would have required a much longer book.

The next three chapters represent the meat of the book. Chapter 3 discusses the various noncoinage financial instruments available under the Republic: bullion, financial instruments (*Permutations, Syngraphae, Partes,* and *Nomia),* and financial institutions. For each of these, the sparse literary evidence is comprehensively and lucidly marshaled. And the *Index Locorum* allows the reader to easily find all of the references to a particular source. While this chapter is quite useful, it makes no attempt to assess the relative significance of the various instruments, presumably because the evidence does not support such an analysis.

Chapter 4 discusses the role of assets other than bullion and coinage in the Roman monetary system and concludes that commodities such as livestock and land were sometimes used as money. Again, the discussion is based on the literary sources, and there is no attempt at quantification.

Continued on page 69

Levick, Crosby, and the Plate

by Jim Neiswinter

The first and most famous photographic plate of coins in American numismatics was published in volume 3 of the April 1869 issue of the *American Journal of Numismatics*. This plate of 1793 cents, with the descriptions of the varieties provided by Sylvester Sage Crosby, remains a landmark in numismatic history. The man responsible for putting it all together was Joseph N. T. Levick (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1. Joseph N. T. Levick.

Levick, born in 1828, started collecting coins circa 1855 in his native Philadelphia. In 1860, he moved to New York City and joined the American Numismatic & Archaeological Society in December 1865. In the March 8, 1866, regular meeting of the ANAS, Levick proposed that a numismatic journal should be issued by the society. (Several European numismatic societies had been issuing such journals for years.) At the annual meeting two weeks later, his proposal was adopted. The first number (issue) was published on May 24, 1866. The Society guaranteed publication for one year at a cost to each member of three dollars per year. All publication expenses would be made good by the members. The journal was not a financial success. It lost over $200 in the first year, and the members were assessed to make up the difference (*AJN* 2, no. 12 [April 1868]: 105). In 1868, Levick, the Society's treasurer and a member of the Finance Committee, wrote a report on the difficulties of publishing the journal. Because of this report, it was decided by the membership to ask other numismatic societies if they would take over publication of the journal on a rotating basis. It took some time to complete the negotiations, but at the annual meeting of the ANAS in 1870 it was announced that the Boston Numismatic Society had agreed to undertake the publication of the journal for the next year.

The minutes of the Society's May 14, 1868, meeting state that Levick read extracts from a tabular statement, prepared by him, of the varieties, sales, prices, owners, and buyers of 1793 cents. He published "A Table, Showing the Prices Paid for the Five Types of the 1793 Cent, Selected from Twenty of the Principal Coin Sales in the Country, from 1855 to 1868" in the October issue of the *AJN*. Levick listed the buyers to afford a means of tracing into whose hands the pieces finally settled. He believed that in many instances, the reputation of the original owners, not less than the merits of the pieces, had been the cause of such competition and high prices (*AJN* 3, no. 6 [October 1868]: 47). While examining an "immense number" of coin catalogues in preparing this table, he found it difficult to differentiate the varieties of 1793 cents from the descriptions. I believe this is where the idea for the plate originated. In this issue Levick also writes: "In our next number we intend to furnish Photographic Plates of a number of Types and Varieties of the Cents of 1793, to be accompanied by detailed descriptions; and in the meantime we earnestly solicit our subscribers and friends to send us good rubbings or copper-foil impressions of any specimens which they may chance to possess or, if possible, the cents themselves for a short time. Communications on this subject to be sent to J. N. T. Levick, P.O. Box 4318."

One month later, in November 1868, Ebenezer Mason announced his own study of 1793 cents in his *Coin and Stamp Collector's Magazine*. I don't think this was a coincidence. Mason and Levick were friends. They first met in 1855, when they both worked for different firms in the same building on Front St. in Philadelphia. It was around this time that Mason became a speculator in coins and Levick a collector (*Mason's Coin Collectors Magazine* 4, no. 2 [September 1882]: 25). I believe when Levick announced his project in the October issue of the *AJN*, Mason read about it and decided to beat his

Fig. 2. Obverse test plate.

old friend to the punch. He started in December 1868 and completed his study in the August issue of his magazine. Mason's effort was compromised by his writing the descriptions of the cents from the pencil rubbings he had solicited from his subscribers. He listed three chains, eight wreaths, and three liberty caps. Only eleven of these descriptions can be recognized today. His study may have preceded Levick's, but his work was forgettable.

It seems that Levick was overly optimistic to think he could get all this together for the November *AJN*, since he received only three responses to his request for cents. Consequently, he had to write individually to every well-known collector and anyone else he had heard of who possessed 1793 cents. Some collectors didn't think their pieces were fine enough, but Levick wanted to see

all their '93s, because he wanted to know of every existing variety. He wanted to make the photographs as complete as possible by showing every variety in the best possible condition (*AJN* 3, no. 10 [February 1869]: 84).

The Society would be responsible for the coins. The operator (photographer) would not handle the cents. Levick would place them on pinpoints attached to a board (*AJN* 3, no. 11 [March 1869]: 92). The man who photographed the plate was a well-known photographer of the era named George Rockwood. His studio at 839 Broadway in New York City was not far from where Levick lived, at 904 Broadway. In 1868, photography was a relatively new profession. Since this was before the discovery of electricity, the lighting of the coins was provided by the sun and/or candlelight. This light was probably enhanced by strategically placed mirrors.

Originally, I believe Levick intended to make two photographs, one for the obverses and the other for the reverses. Apparently, he had to combine the two to keep the cost down. Many years ago, Eric Newman found these obverse and reverse "test" photographs loosely laid in his same *AJN* issue as the regular Levick plate (Figs. 2–3). The writing on the photographs is Levick's. It matches the writing in his journal of the project, *The Book of Rubbings*, which is in the ANS library. The first eleven pages of this journal contain pencil rubbings of cents, followed by handwritten text that includes owner's names and comments on the coins. An example of an entry from page 24:

Nov 18/68
Geo F Seavey sent me some of his 93s
No 2 America – ordinary
No 1 is splendid
Nos 4 & 5 both gems of the 1st water
His 1 America & 4 & 5 are no better anywhere

Fig. 3. Reverse test plate.

At the bottom of the obverse test photograph, Levick writes about three coins that came from the 1867 Mickley sale. Number 2 is the famous Mickley AMERI that was bought by Mortimer Mackenzie for $110. Bayard Smith bought numbers 10 and 11 for $28 and $55, respectively. All three coins made the final plate. At the end of Crosby's monograph, Levick lists the "Proprietors of the Cents Represented in the Plate." He has Mackenzie as the owner of obverse 1 and George Seavey as the owner of reverse A. An examination of this reverse on the plate proves this to be incorrect. The Mickley AMERI has a line-like defect through the O in OF, as does the A reverse on the plate. This coin is obviously Mackenzie's, so obverse 1 must belong to Seavey. It's apparent that Levick got the owners of these two coins mixed up.

Mackenzie was a New Yorker who supplied the most cents for the plate: three Chains, two Wreaths, and one Liberty Cap. The obverses of these six cents are also plated in Edward Cogan's sale of Mackenzie's collection in June 1869. This was the first auction catalogue to use photography. The similarity to Levick's plate in how the coins are displayed leads me to believe that Cogan also used Rockwood as his photographer.

In the February 1869 issue of the *AJN*, Levick wrote: "We made a promise in the October number which we

had not anticipated would involve so much labor and expense, and so many difficulties to surmount. We asserted that we should produce, in the following number, photographs representing these types and varieties; but as yet this engagement has not been realized. We are obliged to beg of our subscribers some indulgence in this matter, and we trust by the last number of the present volume (April issue) to be prepared to tender them something worthy of their patience, and which will meet with entire approbation. We shall here add, that as these photographs will cost more than we had any idea of, the Journal containing them will be forwarded or delivered to those only who shall have paid their subscriptions. . . . Photographs of the '93s will be for sale by Edward Cogan at one dollar a pair. . . . These photographs will be desirable for illustrating coin catalogues of past or future sales, and it is not likely that such another set of '93s can be brought together again. . . . It is remarkable to observe how many collectors there are who have '93s, and are totally ignorant of the fact that they have been hoarding counterfeits until informed by us. We have received from several gentlemen their collections of '93s for our use, among which pieces we found many counterfeits. It is our intention to have a plate taken embracing both the genuine and the counterfeits, in order to aid the collectors in designating the difference; for, were we to present simply the genuine varieties, many collectors would find in their cabinet's varieties of '93 which we did not represent. But when compared with the counterfeits, they could readily see, from the style, etc., that their pieces were most probably not genuine."

Most of these counterfeits were Smith Counterfeits: reengraved low-grade 1793 and 1794 cents turned into high grade '93s (Fig. 5). William D. Smith (known as Smith of Ann Street) was an engraver who worked at 1 Ann Street in New York City in the late 1850s and early 1860s. His workmanship was amazing. Levick's test photograph's cents 8, 9, and 12 are all Smith Counterfeits. However, when Levick produced just one plate, there was not enough room to include the Smiths. In the March issue, Levick thanks Crosby for his assistance and for providing him with several of the cents that appear on the plate: "To Mr. Crosby in particular I owe my thanks for pointing out to me many varieties, detecting counterfeits, procuring me very rare and valuable varieties and specimens, and also for furnishing me with a MINUTE DESCRIPTION of all the varieties, which is to accompany the photographs."

In the spring of 1869, Sylvester Crosby (Fig. 4) was a thirty-seven-year-old watchmaker from Cambridge, Massachusetts. He was a member of the New England Numismatic and Archaeological Society but did not join the American Numismatic & Archaeological Society until April 1869, when he became a corresponding member. He was elected a resident member of the Boston Numismatic Society in June of the same year (*AJN* 4, no. 2 [June 1869]: 14). He is famous for being the author of *The Early Coins of America* (1875). This was Crosby's second published numismatic work. His first was the monograph describing the types and varieties of 1793 cents that appeared on Levick's photograph. I've often wondered why Crosby, who in 1868 had yet to publish anything about coins, was chosen to write the descriptions of the cents that accompanied the plate.

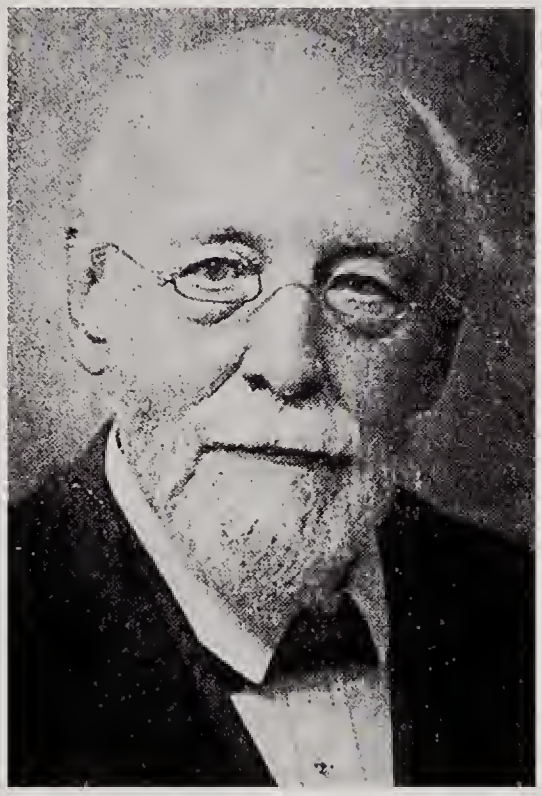


Fig. 4. Sylvester Crosby.

The first published study of large-cent varieties appeared on the front page of the *Boston Evening Transcript* on March 1, 1859. This occurred less than two years after the mint issued the new small (Flying Eagle) cents for circulation. The large cents were recalled for melting, and people realized they would soon be hard to come by. This event triggered the first coin-collecting boom in this country. The *Transcript* article, "About Cents," was written by "A. S." of Brookline, Massachusetts, and provided the first variety classification for large cents, with particular attention paid to the varieties of 1793. Eleven different varieties were described, and even today it's easy to match these descriptions to the Sheldon numbers for 1793. "A. S." was Augustine Shurtleff, a doctor from Brookline and probably one of the original members of the Boston Numismatic Society. The BNS was started by eight men on February 11, 1860, almost two years after Augustus Sage held the first meeting of the American Numismatic & Archaeological Society in New York City. I believe that other future BNS members such as Jeremiah Colburn, Joseph Finnotti, William Appleton, and Henry Brooks helped Shurtleff by providing cents from their collections, and I think it's probable that some of these men assisted on the project of classifying the varieties. It's easy to picture them sitting around a table, maybe in Shurtleff's study, passing around their large cents and discussing the different varieties under the light of whale-oil lamps.

Fig. 5. Smith counterfeits. The chain and liberty cap obverses are plated in Crosby's 1897 monograph.


Fig. 6. Crosby's error.

The portion of the article concerning the cents of 1793 was reprinted in the April 1859 issue of the *Historical Magazine*. The entire article was reprinted in the November magazine. (These reprints were probably the work of Colburn.) I think Levick had read this article and asked the BNS members if they would update it with the five varieties of '93 cents that had been discovered since 1859 (Sheldon's 4, 14, 15, 16, and NC2). By 1868, Sylvester Crosby had a well-known interest in 1793 cents and had discovered two of the new varieties: S15 and S16 (Levick, *Book of Rubbings*, 32). I think that Shurtleff or the other BNS members who were responsible for the first study of cents passed on Levick's request to Crosby, who agreed to write the descriptions. When "About Cents" is compared to Crosby's monograph ten years later, it's obvious that Crosby used it as his starting point. Compare the descriptions of the first variety, the AMERI:

1859 *1st — Obverse a head with fine flowing hair, copied from the French ideal of Liberty; beneath, the date, with figures wide apart; above, the word 'Liberty.' Reverse, an endless chain of fifteen links, inclosing the words 'one cent' and the fraction 1–100. Around it 'United States of Ameri.'*

1869 *No. 1 (with Revs. A and B) A head of Liberty, with hair in fine locks flowing freely backward and downward. The letters of the legend are regular in size and spacing. The figures of the date are widely spread.... Reverse A (for Obv. 1). An endless chain of fifteen links enclosing the words One Cent and the fraction 1/100.*

The similarities did not end with the AMERI. Crosby took the descriptions in "About Cents" and expanded them for his monograph. And, except for one difference, he follows the same emission sequence. He also describes the five new varieties. So Crosby based his monograph on Shurtleff's work, and eighty years later Sheldon based his descriptions of 1793 cents in *Early American Cents* on Crosby's.

Levick also writes about his reason for producing the plate in the March *AJN*: "Mr. [W. Elliot] Woodward, Roxbury Mass., who, I supposed, would be thoroughly familiar with all types and varieties, from the fact that during several years past he has purchased, catalogued and sold almost all the very best collections in the country, such, for instance, as those of Messrs. Mickley, McCoy, Colburn, Brooks, Finotti, Shurtleff . . . I naturally presumed that no one would be a better authority than he, since it was quite probable that from inspecting the cabinets of the above-named gentlemen, some among whom made a specialty of collecting every variety extant, therefore he must be thoroughly familiar with each piece. I found it, however, impossible to discover any differences in the pieces by referring to his catalogues. I have discovered, indeed, that the same piece may be described in a half dozen ways by as many catalogue writers, who thus give the impression that

Fig. 7. Type I of the plate.

there are as many varieties; and in some cases the same variety of piece appears several times in the same catalogue, each time differently described. *Hence one point to be gained by the photograph and descriptions for future catalogues, namely, that a variety can be recognized by its number or letter.... Writers should each and all adopt one way of describing a piece, and let it be known by a certain title, so that all collectors may at once recognize it.*"

I think Levick had other reasons for the project: to

increase interest in the *AJN* and to ensure that the members paid the three dollars for their subscriptions. It took almost two years before Edward Cogan became the first cataloguer to use Crosby's numbers when he sold the collection of William Packer, ex-governor of Pennsylvania, in March 1871. John Haseltine sold Sylvester Crosby's collection in June 1883. It included fifteen different varieties of 1793 cents. What I found strange was that these cents were described with Frossard's numbers. Edouard Frossard published his *Monograph of United States Cents and Half Cents* in 1879. This was the most recent study of cent varieties, but one wonders what Crosby thought about Haseltine using Frossard's numbers to describe his '93s.

When the cost forced Levick to combine the obverses and reverses into one plate, he ran into a problem with two of the varieties. The 6D and the 12K were both unique in 1869. Since they are also low grade, Levick wrote that they could not do better in regard to these two coins, but he proposed if better examples were discovered to have them photographed and to paste the photos over those now on the plate (*AJN* 3, no. 12 [April 1869]: 97). The 6D (Strawberry Leaf) is still unique today, while only eleven more examples of the 12K (S15) have been discovered. Levick's problem was how to show both sides of a unique coin on one plate. Crosby solved the problem by making electrotype copies of all the cents on the plate. There are several references to this in the *Book of Rubbings* (34, 35). This allowed Levick to use the actual coin for one side and the electro for the other. When Woodward sold Levick's last major collection in May 1884, lots 802–823 were electrotypes of 1793 cents. Woodward wrote: "The following are not only electrotype copies of the very finest procurable examples of the cents of the date, but they possess a historic importance, being generally copied from the identical specimens from which Mr. Levick prepared his plate and Mr. Crosby wrote his article on the United States Cents of 1793 which appears in the *American Journal of Numismatics* for April, 1869. The copies themselves are very fine, and are, I suppose the work of Mr. Crosby."

There are two different types of the plate (F. Van Zandt, *The Asylum* 12, no. 2 [Spring 1994]: 8) (Figs. 6–7). In the first, "JNT Levick" is hand printed in a box in the lower right corner with the year, 1868, below his name. The second type has "Compiled by Joseph N.T. Levick" typed in the same location, but without the date and box. The cents are the same on both, but several have been slightly repositioned on Type 2. The major difference is the lighting. I think a number of Type 1 plates were made before Levick or Rockwood realized that some of the coins appeared too dark and that a change in the lighting would be an improvement. This can be seen by the difference in the positions of the shadows cast by the coins in each of the plates. Since it would have been too costly to destroy the plates already made, I believe Levick had them sent to corresponding members of the Society until the supply ran out. Numismatic book dealer Charles Davis has handled many examples of the April 1869 *AJN*, either individually or as a part of runs or complete sets. In five of these that have the Type 1 plate, Davis has been able to identify the original owners, all of whom were corresponding members of the ANAS.

By April 1869, there were one hundred active members of the ANAS (forty-two resident, forty-seven corresponding, and eleven honorary) (*AJN* 4, no. 12 [April 1870]: 99). Levick had to produce at least this many plates to include them in the April issue (assuming all the members had paid their subscriptions). Thus the original run was probably around one hundred, with Type 1 being the rarer of the two. I believe the photographer's oval shaped trademark, "ROCKWOOD / PHOTO-GRAPHER / 839 B'WAY NY," is only found on Type 2 plates that came from this original run. This trademark is embossed at the bottom of the plate, between obverse 11 and reverse K. However, it's hard to see unless you tilt the plate so the light hits it at just the right angle.

It seems that the ANAS—or the BNS starting in 1870—printed extra copies of *AJN* volumes. It stands to reason that the reprints of volume 3 would all have Type 2 plates and that these plates would not have Rockwood's trademark if another photographer printed them from the original negative. The Society was still advertising complete sets of *AJN*s for sale as late as 1920. A large hoard of *AJN* volumes surfaced in the late 1990s. These were the remainders of the Johnson Reprint Company's stock of original *AJN*s. Among this hoard were approximately thirty-five to forty issues of volume 3, all in mint condition. It's not possible to know the total number of plates that were made, but it was obviously more than one hundred. It's equally impossible to know how many have survived.

How complete was Levick's plate? In today's terms, the plate consists of fourteen Sheldon varieties and one NC (the Non-Collectable 6D). So Levick and Crosby missed only two collectable varieties: Sheldon's 7 and 12. The S12, a marriage of obverse 10 and reverse K, was discovered by Crosby in the collection of William Fewsmith in October 1869, just six months after the monograph was issued. (This was Levick's last entry in his *Book of Rubbings*). Crosby discovered the S7, a new obverse mated to the C reverse, in late 1879. Today, both varieties are low Rarity 6 (twenty-four to thirty known).

Crosby waited twenty-seven years before he updated his 1869 monograph. Besides the S7 and S12, three more NCs had been discovered since 1869. This latest

Fig. 8. Type II of the plate.

monograph was serialized in the *AJN* starting in October 1896. He produced three halftone plates that also included 1792 pattern cents, 1793 half cents, and examples of Smith Counterfeits. These plates did not approach the quality of the 1869 plate, and Levick took no part in this project, but Crosby had an easier time getting the cents together since almost all of them belonged to one collector: Dr. Thomas Hall of Boston (Crosby, *The United States Coinage of 1793—Cents and Half Cents* [1897], 3).

COMPILED BY
JAMES NEISWINTER.

Fig. 9. The author's reconstruction of Levick's plate.

Crosby made one blatant error by identifying his B reverse (mated to obverse 3) as a different variety of the AMERI reverse. This coin, owned by Robert Hewitt and pictured as number 1 on the reverse test plate, was proven to be an alteration. It is apparent that Levick thought that this coin was no good, since it did not make the 1869 plate. He writes about this piece on page 34 of his journal: "The Hewitt AMERI. cent I have concluded since the observation made by Crosby that the piece is tooled and altered to an AMERI. from an AMERICA which can be seen by examination with a strong glass." In the description of this reverse in his 1896 monograph, Crosby writes: "I have found only one impression of this die and cannot now trace that, but describe and illustrate it from a copy taken some years ago." This copy was probably one of Crosby's electros. My guess is that he didn't agree with Levick's opinion. The original (altered) coin has been in the ANS collection of counterfeit and altered coins since 1942.

In late 1897, Crosby published two hundred copies of *The United States Coinage of 1793—Cents and Half Cents*. This book is a reprint, with additions, of his *AJN* articles. One addition was the 1793 NC4, which had been discovered by Edouard Frossard in the period between Crosby's articles in the *AJN* and the publication of his book. This cent was a new marriage of known obverse and reverse dies. Crosby had already written the descriptions, so all he had to do was draw a line connecting obverse 9 and reverse I on the plate of Wreath Cents. Only one more variety of 1793, the NC6, has been discovered since that book was published, and this happened eighty years later, in 1977.

Levick never achieved the recognition Crosby did as a numismatic scholar, possibly because he only published one more monograph: a listing of fifty-six different varieties of Hard Times Tokens taken from his collection, which appeared in the April 1870 *AJN*. He died on September 7, 1908, twenty-three days after his eightieth birthday. Both he and his wife Mary are buried in an unmarked grave in Kensico Cemetery, Valhalla, New York. Strangely, his obituary appeared in the *Numismatist* (vol. 21) but not the *AJN*, whose very existence he was responsible for. Crosby was elected to the ANA's Numismatic Hall of Fame in 1970; Levick is still not a member.

In 1869, Levick wrote that it was not likely that such a set of '93s could be brought together again. One hundred and thirty-nine years later, he has been proven wrong. Using many coins from the ANS collection and others from friends of mine (including seven from the original plate), I have been able to re-create Levick's plate (Fig. 8). This plate is in color and will have all twenty-two known 1793 varieties. It will be issued in the same format as the original and be mounted on ivory paper. Exactly one hundred will be produced. They will be numbered and will come with a key showing both Sheldon and Breen numbers, as well as rarity ratings.

The plate is priced at $100 and is available through the ANS. ANSM

Book Reviews

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One of the significant insights in Hollander's work is that any discussion of the monetary economy of the Roman Republic must distinguish between the various parts of that economy (or "monetary zones," as Hollander designates them), because the form and uses of money varied greatly among them. Four monetary zones are described: governmental, commercial, urban, and rural. He then details the flows of money within each, again based primarily on the literary sources. Hollander's structure makes sense and permits coherent commentary. In the discussion of the "commercial zone," Hollander notes that gold and silver are rarely found in ancient shipwrecks, implying that they may therefore not have been important in commercial transactions. Surely the large number of gold and silver hoards of a commercial nature found on land would belie such a conclusion. When considering the "urban zone," he briefly discusses the evidence of coin finds, citing the results of only one excavation, but he dismisses such evidence as inconclusive. It strikes me that a comprehensive analysis of the coins found at the many urban site excavations from this period would yield a wealth of information about the nature of the monetary economy. Hollander again turns briefly to a discussion of coin finds in his "rural zone" section, but again, he mentions only three sites and does not attempt to assemble the substantial archeological evidence into a coherent whole.

The final chapter is devoted to the application of modern macroeconomic theory to the monetary economy of the Republic, which concludes that, for a variety of reasons, the demand for coinage did increase substantially in the late Republic, as did the quantity of coinage. The proportion of assets kept steady as coinage increased substantially as well.

In sum, this is a useful and well-written book that should provide a sound basis for further study of this important subject.

—*Rick Witschonke*